

OCTOBER 1968 & JANUARY 1969

Adibasi

OL X

1968-69 NUMBER THREE & FOUR

Store

N. DAS

DAS

Edited by

RIBAL RESEARCH BUREAU

TRISSA

INTERDISCIPLINE

A Quarterly Journal of Social Science
Research and Documentation

It is published by the Gandhian Institute of Studies, a centre for study and research and training in various areas of fundamental and applied social sciences. This Journal intends to provide a forum to advanced social science thinking and research with an articulated orientation to foster planned social change.

INTERDISCIPLINE usually have the following sections:

- * Articles, research papers and critical reviews in all important branches of social sciences. Effort will be made to develop an interdisciplinary framework in modern social science thinking.
- * Abstracts of articles in standard social science Journals of Indian and foreign especially those dealing with social problems and social changes.
- * Index of social science articles specially those dealing directly with emerging social problems.
- * Review of latest publications in social Sciences.
- * Special Abstracts, Research notes, book notes, Index of recent additions to the Institute Library and glimpses of Institute activities, etc.

PERIODICITY : Spring : Summer : Autumn : Winter
ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION

India Rs. 12'00 : U. S. A. \$ 5'00 : U. K. Sh. 30

ADVERTISEMENT TARIFF

III Page Cover (Full)	Rs. 150'00
III Page Cover (Half)	Rs. 90'00
IV Page Cover (Full)	Rs. 200'00
Full Page	Rs. 100'00
Half Page	Rs. 60'00

For further particulars write to

The publication Incharge,
GANDHIAN INSTITUTE OF STUDIES,
Rajghat, Varanasi (U. P.)

CONTENTS

		Page
1. Policies for Tribal Education ..	N. Das ..	1-10
2. Feudalism and Development in a Naga Village.	R. Ratan ..	11-14
3. Anthropometric and Finger and Palmar Dactylographic study of the Sooras.	P. D. Prasad Rao ..	15-24
4. Sex Initiation in a Dute Bauri Village.	K. L. Bhownik ..	25-32
5. The Konds' Pastimes and their Social Significance.	J. Seng ..	33-39
6. Methods of Social Anthropology and Study of Tribes in India.	N. Das ..	40-50
7. An address in Census Conference of 1968.	..	51-56
8. Brief Notes : Social status of Khajuria.	..	57-58

With Compliments of Editors, Adibasi Tribal Research Bureau



On May, 3, 1959, the nation was shocked to learn that the Head of the State, President Zahir Hussain was no more. Dr. Hussain was elevated to the High office only two years ago in May 1957. It was then least known that the cruel hands of destiny would snatch him away depriving the country of an able leader, statesman and literature. He was the first President to pass away in harness, at a time when the country needed his most. Dr. Hussain combined scholarship with geniality and did not touch anything which he did not adore. In befitting reverence to his valiant personality, millions in this country and abroad have paid their homage and condolences which is manifest from the fact that foreign dignitaries from sixty countries attended the funeral along with thousands of mourners of our land.

Dr. Hussain's affection for the tribes of India knew no bounds. It was an irony of fate that his last hour was spent among the tribal brethren of N. E. F. A. and Nagaland. The other day Dr. Hussain received two tribal chiefs from Orissa and was presented with a set of the Ashbur. We will for long cherish the occasion when his searching enquiries about the tribes of the State showed his anxiety for the welfare of the tribes.

The "Ashbur" joins with millions in this country and abroad to condole the sad demise of Dr. Hussain and respectfully extends its universal condolences to the bereaved family. The void is difficult to fill, but his spirit would continue to guide us in our pursuit to develop our tribes.

PRIORITIES FOR TRIBAL EDUCATION

Spread of education among the tribes deserves serious thought for the next ten years. That has become doubly important, in view of the fact that for the last twenty years concentrated efforts by official and non-official agencies have been made to spread education among the tribes. Educational improvement of tribes has been better than economic, health and hygiene development. We have 29,883,479 tribal population according to 1961 Census. There has been some increase during these seven years. There are altogether 62 tribal groups classified as Scheduled Tribes under Presidential Order of 1956. Some modifications are expected on the recommendation of Lokur Committee and the introduction of the Bill to amend the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modifications) Order, 1956. A few more may be added after the finalisation of the recommendations of Lokur Committee. Although these groups could be denoted by the generic term 'Scheduled Tribes' they are at different stages of culture and economic development.

There are backward tribes who have not made any progress in education. They have their distinct

languages. There are semi-assimilated groups who while retaining their language and customs, etc., have made some progress in the field of education. There are advanced section of tribes who have adopted formal education and some of them have considerably improved their education standard.

In some States residential institutions meant for tribes have been opened to others who can attend these as day-scholars. In the residential institutions boarding charges are provided for tribal students while in general institutions they are provided with stipends. Central Government provide grants-in-aid for management of these residential institutions for tribes. Both officials and non-officials have made serious efforts to extend education in remote tribal areas. During the Three Plan period primary and Secondary Schools have been established in far-flung tribal areas.

However, the position is deplorable in case of real backward tribes. That is why they deserve special and concentrated attention for the next decade. Four-point criteria are imperative to an education system, viz., (a) method,

(b) personnel, (c) content, (d) motives and attitudes underlying the educational progress.

Among the contemporary backward tribal people the gulf between the informal education which is imparted at home and the formal education which is imparted in the schools is practically lacking. Except highly specialised craft or the magical spells there are no specialised organs. Moreover, traditional education is always direct. By direct, we mean learning by experiencing. We usually read and are made to understand things which have no relationship in our daily life and which we sometimes cannot see during our life time. The people of Uttar Pradesh or the Punjab are often told about the sea or the port, though hardly a handful of them get the opportunity in their lives to see the sea. Among the tribal people the method of education is always direct and the observations are real. This acts as a handicap for adopting the present system of education and learning. There are no professional teachers and of course no learned professors. As everybody is jack of all trades except the sorcerer or magician, the rest are teachers and students simultaneously. Among the pre-literate societies, interest created among children themselves, makes them active participants instead of passive recipients. Content of education similarly aims at two main points, the individual adjustment to the community and the acquisition of social values including sex life. Now the last though not the least is motive and attitude underlying the educational process. There is a large grade of sharing of interests

of the adult and there is always reciprocal obligation on the part of the adults to understand the handicaps and difficulties of the children. Discipline among the tribes is self-evolved, unlike other societies where it is imposed by the authorities. Prizes are real source of satisfaction and the rewards are won for the benefit of the individual in the context of social benefits obtained from his actions. Thus the entire educational system is one of homogeneity and reciprocity.

The widespread student unrest in this country as well as in almost all parts of the world has called for attention to evolve a proper system of education. The adolescent and the youth have now become restive. Parents are equally responsible for not maintaining a comfortable atmosphere in respective homes. Repression of those fall on young boys and girls. The general indiscipline in the social structure and apathy of the leaders to decide about the proper system of education leads to this sorry state of affairs.

In this respect when we judge the tribals we find a completely different picture. In the tribal society there is respect for traditional leadership. Rigorous discipline and informal education enable tribals to respect their social system. Some of the tribes had well organised dormitory institutions. In the dormitories boys and girls used to live together and participate in all the activities like dancing and amusement. Social Scientists who have studied these institutions have reported

that there is absolutely no vulgarity or unnecessary activities. Some outsiders were apt to dub dormitory life to licentious affairs. That cannot be substantiated from any study. Rather it could be definitely asserted that these propensities do not occur in traditional tribal societies. The dormitory institution has been discarded, when the tribes come in contact with outsiders. They hardly get any substitute to enforce discipline which dormitory could do.

That does not mean that the tribal people should be left in isolation, nor that is possible in a developing country. The policy of segregation followed by the British Government contemplated this state. However, in the light of various dimensions the policy on tribal education should be contemplated to coalesce and not disintegrate the tribal life.

The last but not the least important is the problem of language and script. Almost all the tribal languages have no script. Broadly speaking, the interior tribes speak languages belonging to two families, the Austro and the Dravidian. The former include Mundari, Santali, Ho, Bhumij, Bichor, Kharla and Sanas. The Dravidian language is spoken by Orasas of Chotanagpur, Kandhas of Orissa and several southern tribes. The frontier tribes of course speak dialects of Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Burman family of languages. None of these languages has got a script. Surprisingly among the Nagas even a tribesman separated from another by a few miles speak completely

different dialects. Even the social anthropologists, who emphasize the knowledge of the language of a tribe before they study the tribe are bewildered. Therefore, the the question of a uniform language for the tribes is not possible. At present tribes are being educated through different regional languages, but there are complaints of lack of reception among the backward tribes. The point is whether the tribes are to be educated in different regional languages from the beginning or the tribal students are to be educated at primary and secondary stages through the medium of their own languages. The greatest need for a scheme like this to be successful, is the adequate number of teachers in tribal languages. To train sufficient number of teachers to teach them in their respective languages is a difficult process. The non-tribal students in the schools situated in the heart of the tribal areas can not be successfully educated through the medium of the prevalent tribal languages.

Hindi in Devanagiri script has been accepted as the national language. Therefore, one of the objectives of the administration is also to propagate Hindi among non-Hindi speaking population. There will be no harm if the tribal people are also made to learn Hindi, side by side with the regional languages. In lower primary stages the lesson could be explained in tribal languages to interest the tribal students. No script should be evolved afresh as it will never be feasible if individual efforts were made to devise

scripts on tribal languages. But these are either standardised or contrived.

Residential schools established in tribal areas have been found useful. In comparison to the institutions run by Education Department the residential schools run by Tribal Welfare Department nourish a better atmosphere. Teachers living with the students enable them to understand and appreciate the difficulties of the latter. The vocational training provided in the students in these schools enable them to learn a few crafts. As the time when employment facilities are limited vocational training could be usefully utilised by the students to settle down in villages as craftsmen.

As regards primary education it has been found that there are already large number of schools in remote tribal areas. These are mostly managed by a single teacher. If the teacher remains absent due to any reason the school is closed. If these schools in remote tribal areas are frequently closed the parents would rather engage their children in different domestic chores than remain away unnecessarily from their homes. The inhibitory factors are that firstly the tribal students are not interested in attending schools. Secondly if the atmosphere in the school and the medium of instruction are not congenial there is good reason to develop aversion towards education.

The problem of stagnation of tribal students is serious. Most of the students do not complete the

course they join. If they fail in the annual examination they abandon their studies. In some cases after joining the school they leave for some years to rejoin again. Stagnation affects the general progress of tribal students in educational institutions. This also wastes the investment in tribal education. There is necessity for effective co-ordination among the education authorities and the teachers to induce tribal parents to send their children to schools. The uncongenial atmosphere in schools has to be improved to attract the tribal students. Studies conducted by some tribal research bodies show that there is little doubt that the tribal students provided with proper atmosphere in educational institutions can compete with others, but they take lesser interest in higher studies. They seek petty employment and are satisfied if they get the same.

Another important aspect of education which is to be counteracted is the general aversion of all categories of tribal students for science and technical education. There are hardly 5 per cent students among the tribals who take up science and technical studies including medical, engineering, etc. The residential and other schools which we had the occasion to visit have not got properly equipped science laboratory. No doubt science education is still making progress in the country as a whole. But by taking all-India average the position relating to tribal students is much inferior. A good deal of emphasis should be laid on promoting science and technical education. Necessary

impetus should be provided for this purpose. If necessary, enhanced rate of stipend should be provided to the tribal students pursuing science education.

There exists indigenous skill among some tribes in different parts. During these years we have not tried to encourage them. If these could be encouraged we may be able to produce suitable craftsmen among the tribe. In tribal areas for construction and other works skilled workers have to be imported from outside. Similarly, when big industries and river valley projects are established in tribal areas, tribals cannot be employed as skilled or semi-skilled workers. This aspect has to be taken into consideration by concerned authorities. Science and technical education could, therefore, be widely introduced in tribal areas for this purpose, and Training-cum-Production Centres should be encouraged.

Some of the tribes have been benefited from the provisions for general education. There are educational institutions exclusively meant for tribals. In others tribal boys are reading with others. Institutions meant exclusively for tribals are run by states as well as non-officials including Christian Missions.

However, it may be seen among the backward tribal groups, the percentage of literacy is only 2-3. These groups have remained farther away from education and deserve special attention for the next 10 years for advancement of education.

All efforts directed during the last 20 years have not succeeded in inculcating values of education among real backward tribes. The drive has got a set back mainly due to non-participation of tribes. In accessibility both physical and mental played their role. An overall estimate indicates that tribal education is in transition.

A study conducted by the Tribal Research Bureau in Orissa among the backward tribes has shown that Bondas high landers, Lanjia Santhas, Kutia Kondhs, Hill Juangs, Paudi Bhuiyans, Gadabas and Dongria Kondhs have shown the least receptivity to education. The number of schoolgoing children among these communities in a rough estimate does not exceed two per cent. The figure may be lower, not higher in view of the fact that exact enumeration of schoolgoing children is not always possible. The study has further shown that in the primary classes though there is some enrolment, the students do not continue to complete their school course. They however, continue in the rolls and that gives a higher figure than the actual number of students in those schools. It has been found that boys of the age of 14 to 15 are still in the rolls of primary schools. This study, therefore, indicates that the schoolgoing habit is yet to be developed among the backward tribes as they are apathetic to formal education.

Priorities are, therefore, to be fixed for next ten years to plug the drawback, to bring real backward tribes into the fold of modern education. Particularly science and technical education are to be popularised.

In real backward tribal areas there should be always two teacher primary schools. This is necessary because the absence of one teacher would not automatically close the institution. It has been found that primary teachers in inaccessible parts remain absent frequently. The inspecting staff cannot check such truancy for the simple reason, that the schools are located in inaccessible regions and could be reached only on foot. Absence of the teacher with corresponding closure of schools disenable the tribal children to form school-going habit.

Secondly the tribal children help their parents in domestic care. When parents are out on hill clearings or in other pre-occupations grownup children are left in charge of their younger brothers and sisters. Children are also to graze and herd cattle. They assist them in agricultural operations after the age of 14. Hence sending children to the school, would mean dislocation of the social and economic life of tribes and considerable hardship to the parents.

Teachers posted to the primary schools in the backward tribal areas are seldom selected on the basis of any special aptitude and qualification to deal with tribal children. They do not get any additional incentive or lucrative special pay. A small amount of Rs. 10 to 15 per month is paid to teachers from the British fund which is known as 'Agency Special Pay'. This special pay is the same for incumbents posted to the district headquarters or subdivisional headquarters of such agency areas. As those who are posted to

the interior places. In the interior places there is hardly any communication. There is no medical facility. If some one falls ill he may have to be carried miles together across the hills. These factors, therefore, stand on the way of posting suitable persons in interior tribal areas. Anybody who could manage to do so always avoids such a posting. Hence, un-qualified local men are usually posted as teachers in the primary schools in backward tribal areas. They seldom take interest in their work.

Still now backward tribal areas are considered as punishment centres and only those who are considered to be undesirable elsewhere are transferred there. Hence they usually feel dejected and do not take any initiative. It is, therefore, essential that in the inaccessible backward tribal regions there should be atleast 30 per cent special pay for the teachers in various schools particularly primary schools. There should be always two teachers so that if one falls ill the other can attend to him.

The teachers should be provided with accommodation free of cost within the school premises. They can live with their family and should not leave the school frequently. Their stay in the school premises would also enable them to raise gardens and demonstrate new varieties of crops to the tribals.

The teachers can have frequent dialogue with the villagers to induce them to send their children to the school. The villagers when

grains grown by them are often sold out and the sale-proceeds are deposited in Government account. This is not a desirable practice. Students may be allowed to use a good portion of the produce to supplement their boarding charges. The sale-proceeds may be allowed to be utilized for seed material and irrigation. This will generate incentives for gardening.

As regards contribution of stipends and scholarships, it has been reported by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as well as by Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission that the weak and advanced sections among the tribes derive the maximum benefit from this programme. Studies undertaken in some selected tribal areas have shown that Christian converts and other advanced tribals get 87 percent of the stipend and scholarship meant for the tribals. Among the backward tribes there is hardly any student who has gone up to high school to receive pre-matric or post-matric scholarship. The youth organization where prevalent have to be revitalized for promoting social education.

The States and Union Territories may therefore, be asked by the Planning Commission to fix their priorities for spread of education among the most backward tribes. While submitting

their annual plans and proposals for the 4th and 5th Plan States and Union Territories should incorporate these priorities. It may be scrutinized by the Planning Commission that proportionate expenditure is earmarked for spread of education in the most backward tribes areas. A tentative list of the most backward tribes in different States is enclosed.

States and Union Territories may take the help of tribal research bodies now established in states having sizeable tribal population to prepare a list of the backward tribal areas and most backward tribes. States may also indicate how they propose to incorporate the priorities in their respective set up. Central assistance may have to be provided after proper scrutiny. Periodical evaluation of the working of the system is to be conducted by the tribal research bodies. Such evaluation reports are to be submitted by States while advancing proposals for plan outlay and for seeking central assistance for this purpose. There being no second opinion that the most backward sections among the Scheduled Tribes are to be given greater importance it is the question now as to how the programme could be effectively implemented within the available resources. The states have a duty, but adequate central assistance for this purpose is essential.

Statement shows the number of Scheduled Tribes in the States and Union Territories and their percentage to the total population of each State as per 1961 census

State/Union Territory	Total population	Scheduled Tribes	Percentage of Scheduled Tribes of State/Union Territory	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Andhra Pradesh	35,913,447	1,324,368	3.68	
Assam	11,871,772	2,068,364	17.42	
Bihar	46,435,610	4,204,770	9.05	
Gujarat	20,631,350	2,754,446	13.35	
Jammu and Kashmir	1,360,976			
Kerala	16,903,715	267,996	1.53	
Madhya Pradesh	32,373,406	6,678,410	20.63	
Mizoram	33,640,963	252,646	0.75	
Nagaland	39,593,718	2,397,139	6.06	
Niyone	23,546,772	192,096	0.81	
Nagaland	760,200	343,697	50.09	
Orissa	17,548,846	4,233,757	24.07	
Punjab	20,906,812	14,132	0.07	
Rajasthan	20,135,602	2,309,447	11.46	
Uttar Pradesh	73,746,401			
West Bengal	24,926,279	2,073,883	8.31	
<i>Union Territories and other areas.</i>				
Andaman & N. Islands	63,548	14,122	22.22	
Delhi	2,654,612		-	
Himachal Pradesh	1,351,344	168,194	12.41	
L. M. and A. Island	24,106	23,391	97.03	
Manipur	780,007	249,049	31.93	
Piquis	1,142,095	300,270	26.33	
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	57,963	51,261	88.14	
NEFA	136,538	5,042	3.69	
Pondicherry	369,079	-	-	
Sikkim	162,189	37,170	22.92	
INDIA	4,78,608,104	29,873,470	6.21	

R. NATAN

Village in background

Langdang is situated at a distance of four miles away from Ukhrul a small town and a seat of subdivisions. administration Manipur State the Block also has its headquarters located at Ukhrul. The village is spread over the slopes of a hill near Burma Border which is only 80 miles away from the settlement. The height of the hill is almost 8,000 feet above sea-level the forest round the village is not very thick most of it has been devastated by the people as their main source of economy is shifting cultivation.

Langdang is essentially a nuclear village four years back all the houses were at one place but now the village is divided into two hamlets known as Langdang Khuden and Langdang Khuen. The main habitation is Langdang Khuden in Langdang union only 15 households are residing.

The total population of the village is 330 the number of families is 63 all belong to Tangkhul Naga tribe. 54 families have adopted Christianity as their religion only 8 families are of non-converts.

FACTIONALISM AND DEVELOPMENT IN A NAGA VILLAGE

The Nagas in Langdang village are divided into three clans— 1. Tasharvanao, 2) Lathuanao, 3) Phungcharennao. Henceforth in this study for convenience sake they would be termed by their first letters, i.e., T for Tasharvanao, L for Lathuanao and P for Phungcharennao.

The households distribution over the three clans is as follows:

No.	Clan	No. of households
1	T	24
2	L	24
3	P	14

Like other Naga villages in Tangkhul area, Langdang has also got the traditional village council known as village authority. In this organisation clans L and P have been represented by their two clan chiefs and six other elderly persons, each clan thus having 4 representatives. Clan T has four representatives besides its chief who is also the chief of the village authority. Thus the village authority is constituted by 13 village leaders. T clan had moved to this site from outside first and inhabited this village and hence its chief has the right to be the

chief of the village, authority village chief and clan chiefs are hereditary in nature

The village authority is recognised by the Government and for administrative purposes is the village. The village is an administrative unit and its decisions are decisive in the revenue land revenue matters and yet have been used by the village authority has been given a stamp of recognition by the Government in legal matters. It decides all the disputes brought before it. The disputes are appealable in the district court but not in the High Court. It has a reputation of settling disputes amicably and justice very seldom is appealed. It is a higher authority and in legal matters it was the main authority and controlled the force in the village. In religious matters it has control in village matters was looked up for guidance.

In getting under the leaders of the village club and village hall was a school's growth with a series of activities and working. The village was under step and down, so it was convenient. This state of affairs changed in 1920 and since then disruption and split-up in the social organization of the village have been on and off.

Figure 1 **Legend** **Source**

The process of faction formation. The beginning of the process of faction formation in this village goes back to 1920 when the chief of group I claimed the chiefship. Strategy of the village is a

said that this father was the village chief and when he died he was named the father of the present village chief taking advantage of his opportunity monopolized the village and entered all Government records as the chief of the village. When in 1907 when the present chief of the district learned of this he claimed all rights and then a suit had to be made.

in a more or less social organisation and split up into three groups which can be clearly detected. They are organised along the three lines I, II and III. The greatest strength of our class is seen in the numerical strength of the groups - see the following of 24 and 25 and 26 of the foundry.

Spontaneous distribution of three groups. Two groups I and II are found in the opposite Koller with the condition of group I the rest of the In = area of group I are x, y, z (assuming known). There have been no other In = site of adjacent Koller, so that is taken among the groups of I on the one side, and group II on the other.

Inter-group Relations.—Group T and L have hostile relations; group P always supports group L. So in terms of factionalism in which an element of hostility is involved, the village is divided into two factions: (1) T on the one side and L and P on the other. Henceforth L and P would be termed as LP group.

*Disruptive Effects of Facilitative
rest on Image Team Organization and Leadership: Was the
village a dividing house as steel?*

Let us see how far factionalism has created a disruption in the traditional institution of village council or village authority and also in the new organisations set up by the development departments.

Village Authority: The traditional institution of village council or the village authority has broken down. The village chief of Khulap is no more accepted as Khulap by faction LP, as the chief of the village. By tradition the village chief has the right to hold the meetings of the village authority in his house to decide all types of cases and disputes in consultation with other members of the village authority but since 1959 the chief and other leaders of faction LP have refused to go in the village chief's house to participate in any type of deliberations. In fact they challenge his right to hold meetings in his house. Instead they hold deliberations regarding disputes and also to take decisions concerning other social and religious matters of their group in the house of the chief of L group.

The village chief on the advice of the S.D.O. of Ukhrul and village in order to tide over this difficulty constructed a small room in between his house and the house where faction LP was residing and tried to persuade the leaders of faction LP to participate there in the meetings to decide cases but they did not agree. Thus the authority and leadership of the village chief and also the village authority has shattered.

Education and Development

Primary School: The factionalism has also affected the village lower primary school. This was situated at Longdang Khulap six years back. In 1958 the village chief got it shifted with the help of the Education Department towards his house. The school building is the old one at Longdang. A kitchen was set on fire. In protest faction LP stopped to send its children to the school and never contributions from amongst themselves and got a new building constructed in the old school building site and appointed two teachers. Now the strength of the students in the institution is 40 while in the lower primary school there are only 12 students. The leaders of LP have been trying to get it recognised by the Education Department.

Village Development Committee: Formerly there was one village development committee for Longdang but now there are two. Faction T i.e., the village chief's group three years back has elected the development committee and has organised a new one for its members though this has not yet been given a recognition by the Government. The other

Village Industries Committee: It was organised by the Gram Sabha. Now there is a split in it also. On faction lines faction LP has its own and faction T has its own.

Road construction: Ukhrul Block P.D.O. wants co-operation of Longdang village in constructing a gravel road from Ukhrul to Longdang which is 4

in on away from the Block head quarters. Faction LP took up the work but faction T led by the village chief of Khatapa boycotted it but later on on the request of the B L O faction T also agreed on the condition that 4 acres land was divided into two and half was allotted to faction T and the other half to faction LP for construction.

Common Pit and Village Cleanliness Competition The Block organised village cleanliness competition and also village cleanliness competition in Langdang. Faction LP co-operated while faction T non-co-operated with A L W in his attempt to make these competitions a success.

Visit of the B L O The B L O visited Langdang and discussed about some development issues with the leaders of faction LP. He sent a word to the village chief leader of faction T to come over here to meet him but the latter refused and said "Why has the B L O gone to the leaders of LP faction? He should have come to me first".

Conclusion

Deductions from the above facts are

- (a) The village is no more a cohesive unit.
- (b) The traditional village social organisation the village council or the

village authority has broken down into two factions hostile to each other. The attitude of hostility is quite various on the working of the village authority.

- (c) The village-wide leadership and the village loyalty as it has disappeared.
- (d) Can it be said an informal but rule is determining groups and factions and their leadership.
- (e) In state of village community each faction is characterized by solidarity and cohesiveness with a sense of well-being.
- (f) Faction leadership is the effective leadership and serves as ready made effective channels of communication to the members.
- (g) Factionalism has proved to be a serious social barrier in development activities. No development activity has been undertaken in the village as a whole. The attitude on the part of the two factions is that if one co-operates with the extension agents the other boycotts them. The two factions do not agree on any issue of village welfare.

ANTHROPMETRIC AND FINGER AND PALMAR DERMATOGLYPHIC STUDY OF THE SOARAS

Introduction

The Soaras are well known people in the Anthropological field. They constitute a major bulk of the tribal population in the State of Orissa. They are commonly found in the Ganjam and Koraput districts, but sporadically distributed through out the State. Concerning their social, religious institutions and economic patterns numerous papers have been published but no systematic Anthropometric studies have been made of this interesting tribe.

The synthesis of the present paper deals with the statistical analysis of the data on their bodily measurements and the study of the finger and palmar prints. The study is based on a random sample of 110 adult males on whom the Anthropometric measurements and Dermatoglyphic observations were made but only 100 adult male Soaras were considered for the Dermatoglyphic study. The data were collected from the villages Siripur, Naspalli, Bhuselgarh, Baranunda, Badagada and Chhatkila all within a radius of 8 to 10 miles from the New Capital Bhubaneswar in Puri district.

1. *Anthropometry*—The following measurements were taken . . .

- (1) Maximum Head length.
- (2) Maximum Head breadth.
- (3) Minimum frontal diameter.
- (4) Maximum bizygomatic breadth.
- (5) Bigonial breadth.
- (6) Nasal height.
- (7) Nasal breadth.
- (8) Morphological or total facial length.
- (9) Stature and
- (10) Auricular head height.

The following indices have been worked out of the above measurements . . .

- (1) Cephalic index.
- (2) Nasal index.
- (3) Length height index and index.
- (4) Breadth height index and
- (5) Facial index.

The measurements were strictly taken according to techniques described by Wilder and Martin. The finger and palmar print data were analysed according to the procedures prescribed by Cummins and Midlo.

I. Analysis of Anthropometric Measurements

Table 1
Classification of stature in cm.

Class	Range	Frequency	Percent
Pitmy	120-129.9	0	0.00
Very short	130-149.9	8	7.21
Short	150-169.9	53	48.18
Below medium	160-169.9	26	23.67
Medium	170-179.9	13	11.81
Above medium	180-189.9	6	5.45
Tall	190-199.9	4	3.63
Very tall	200-209.9	0	0.00
Q ant.	210-219.9	3	2.73

As a young the stature of the persons studied, it was noticed that majority of males 7.00 per cent are between 150-159.9 cm. a stature, i.e. between short and below medium. The average stature was found to be 161.81 \pm 0.43

cm., the maximum being 177.8 cm. and the minimum 145.5 cm. The percentage of very short (7.21), short (48.18), below medium (23.67), medium (11.81), above medium (5.45), tall (3.63) and very tall (0.00) respectively.

Table 2
Statistical constants of 110 male measurements in cm.

Measurement	Max.	M.S.	Mean \pm S.E.	Standard Deviation \pm S.E.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Head length	20.4	17.4	18.89 \pm 0.04	0.40 \pm 0.03
Head breadth	15.6	12.8	14.12 \pm 0.04	0.42 \pm 0.02
Acroclaster Head Height	14.8	9.3	11.98 \pm 0.08	0.94 \pm 0.06
Min. Frontal Diameter	11.3	9.3	10.32 \pm 0.03	0.38 \pm 0.02
Max. Biacromial breadth	13.8	11.2	12.44 \pm 0.05	0.53 \pm 0.03
Biacromial breadth	11.5	9.0	10.38 \pm 0.05	0.58 \pm 0.03
Total arm length	2.4	2.9	11.17 \pm 0.04	0.41 \pm 0.03
Neck Height	5.6	3.7	4.71 \pm 0.03	0.12 \pm 0.02
Neck Breadth	4.5	3.0	3.89 \pm 0.04	0.43 \pm 0.03
Stature	177.8	146.3	161.81 \pm 0.43	4.72 \pm 0.32

Table-3

Statistical constants of Indices

Indices	Max	Min	Mean \pm S. E.	Standard Deviation \pm S. E.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Cephalic Index	4.6	69.8	76.4 \pm 43	4.41 \pm 23
Almondal index	80.7	5.1	66.05 \pm 37	3.0 \pm 20
Recumbent Height Index	107.0	70.9	88.84 \pm 30	5.23 \pm 36
Nasal index	94.2	60.8	76.55 \pm 57	6.2. \pm 42
Total Nasal Index	125.6	73.8	87.42 \pm 40	6.34 \pm 46

Classification of Indices

(A) Cephalic Index—

Class	Range	Frequency	Per cent
Hyper dolichocephalic	X-69.9	1	2.72
Dolichocephalic	70.0-75.9	60	54.54
Mesiocephalic	76.0-80.9	44	40.00
Brachycephalic	81.0-85.9	3	2.72
Hyper-brachycephalic	86.0-X	0	0.00

The mean cephalic index is 76.4 \pm 43 with the maximum of 81.6 and minimum of 60.8. Dolichocephaly 54.54 per cent appears to be predominant. Mesiocephaly occurs in the next highest per cent of 40.00 per cent. Brachycephaly

and Hyper-brachycephaly are in the equal percentage of 2.72. The mean head length and breadth are 18.80 \pm 94 and 14.18 \pm .84 cm. respectively. Head length and breadth varies between 20.1 and 17.4 cm. 15.6 and 12.8 respectively.

(B) Length Neck Index

Class	Range	Frequency	Per cent
Chamaeocephalic	X-57.6	4	3.63
Orthocephalic	57.7-62.5	20	18.18
Hypocephalic	62.6-X	86	78.18

The mean recumbent Height Index of head is 66.05 \pm 37, its range of variation being between 80.7 and 5.1. Hypocephaly, 78.18 per cent appears to be predominant. The percentage of Chamaeocephalic and orthocephalic elements are 3.63 and 18.18 respectively. The mean Head-Neck Index is 90 \pm 08 the maximum being 144 cm. and the minimum 73 cm.

(C) *Breadth-Height Index*—

Class	Range	Frequency	Per cent
Tapeinocephalic	X-78.9	22	20.00
Mesiocephalic	79.0-84.9	21	19.00
Acrocephalic	85.0-X	65	59.00

The mean breadth-height index is 88.58 ± 50 with the maximum of 107.0 and minimum of 70.9. Acrocephaly (59.00 per cent) occurs as highest concentration, Tapeinocephaly and Mesiocephaly are 20.00 per cent and 19.00 per cent respectively.

(D) *Nasal Index*

Class	Range	Frequency	Per cent
Hypo-Leptorhine	X-54.9	0	0.00
Leptorhine	55.0-69.9	2	1.81
Mesorhine	70.0-84.9	46	40.90
Platyrrhine	85.0-99.9	50	47.27
Hypo-platyrrhine	100.0-X	0	0.00

The mean nasal index is 76.33 ± 59 with the maximum of 99.2 and the minimum 60.8. Mesorhine occurs as the highest concentration of 40.90 per cent while that of Platyrrhine is 47.27 per cent. Leptorhine occurs as 1.81 per cent only. No cases of Hypo-leptorhine and Hypo-platyrrhine are noticed. The mean nasal height and nasal breadth are 4.71 ± 0.3 and 3.89 ± 0.4 cm. respectively. The range of variation of the nasal height is between 3.6 and 5.7 cm. while that of the nasal breadth between 4.5 and 4.0 cm.

(E) *Total facial length*

Class	Range	Frequency	Percent
Hypertrochoprosopic	X-73.9	12	13.90
Euryprosopic	74.0-83.9	29	26.56
Mesoprosopic	84.0-93.9	31	28.18
Leptoprosopic	94.0-99.9	30	27.27
Hypoleptoprosopic	100.0-X	8	7.27

The mean total facial index is 87.43 ± 0.60, the maximum being 89.6 and the minimum 73.8. It is noticed that Mesoprosopic 28.18 per cent, element is predominant, while both the Euryprosopic and Leptoprosopic elements are almost present in the order 26.56 per cent and 27.27 per cent respectively. The Hypertrochoprosopic and Hypoleptoprosopic elements are rare. The mean total facial length is 11.19 ± 0.04 cm., the maximum being 12.4 cm. and the minimum being 9.9 cm. The mesotrochoprosopic breadth is 1.94 ± 0.03 cm. its maximum being 1.8 cm. and the minimum 1.6 cm.

H. Finger prints—The following analysis is based on 1,000 finger prints of 100 adult male Baosias.

Table I
Frequency of finger prints patterns

Digit	Head	Whorl	Loops		Total	Arches
			Ulnar	Radial		
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
I	R	35.00	41.00		41.00	4.00
	L	40.00	54.00	1.00	55.00	2.00
	R + L	40.00	47.50	0.50	48.00	3.00
II	R	45.00	41.00	5.00	46.00	9.00
	L	47.00	34.69	7.15	47.84	10.20
	R + L	46.00	37.84	6.07	43.92	9.60
III	R	23.00	73.00	1.00	74.00	2.00
	L	32.00	62.00	1.00	63.00	3.00
	R + L	27.50	67.50	1.00	68.54	4.00
IV	R	67.00	32.00	1.00	33.00	
	L	36.12	39.62	1.02	46.64	3.06
	R + L	66.50	35.81	1.01	36.82	1.53
V	R	37.00	72.00		72.00	1.00
	L	30.00	70.00	..	70.00	..
	R + L	38.50	71.00	..	71.00	0.50
All digits	R + L	42.51	51.90	2.11	54.04	3.72

From the above table I is clear that the finger prints show unequal frequencies on the different digits when combined. On digits I, II, and IV which are more frequent, the frequency ranging from 67 per cent

in digit IV to 45 per cent in digit II. The frequency of ulnar loops is more in digits III & V ranging from 62 per cent to 40 per cent respectively. The frequencies on the digits I, II and IV are 64.00 per cent

34 per cent, 52 per cent, respectively. The radial loops show the maximum frequency on digit II (7 per cent) and show sharp reduction on the digits I, III and IV. It is to be seen that there were no radial loops on the digit V. The arches show greatest frequency on digit II (6%), and less frequencies on the other digits. On the whole the whorls are seen on both right and left hands whereas ulnar loops are more common in the right hand in digits III and V. It is interesting to note that radial loops are more on left hand digit II than any

other digit and arches are more common on the same digit.

Sarker (1954) proposed that an approximate whorl/loop ratio of 68:40 is probably a characteristic of the Veddis of Australoid. This is confirmed by the finger print data of the Australian aborigines (Cummins and Seidler, 1961). The Sakers show mean ratio (42:51) per cent, 51:43 per cent, approximately in the present study.

The following table show the pattern-intensity index, Arch/Whorl index of Dreykneijer and whorl/loop index of Furdats.

Table II

Frequencies of Pattern types per cent				Pattern intensity Index	D. I	P. I
Whorl	U. L.	R. L.	Arch			
				49%	1.72	78.66
42:51	51:43	2:11	3:72			

The pattern intensity index is 14.51 which bears resemblance with Sabina (14.07) and Juang (4.06) worked by Sarker.

Finger prints of Orissan aborigine in (all fingers combined)

Table III

Type	Whorls	Loops	Arches	Indices		
				P. I	D. I	P. I
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent			
Juang (Mishra)	42.00	45.64	1.36	14.06	3.15	74.15
(Perrault)	78.82	57.65	3.54	13.53	9.09	67.34
—Sarker—						

(Contd)

Tribe		Whorls	Loops	Arches	Indices		
					P I	D I	P
Saoras (Male)	..	42.43	55.89	1.68	14.67	3.96	99.3
(Female)	..	24.72	67.42	7.85	17.63	17.83	36.67
Khond (Male)		41.97	57.89	5.14	17.68	18.12	79.32
—Sarker							
Khond (Males)	.	29.08	63.26	5.63	12.95	14.24	62.97
(Rao)							
Jung (Male)	..	50.54	48.11	1.00	15.02	2.0	101.93
—Rao							
Saora (Present study)	..	42.51	54.04	3.71	14.91	8.72	78.66

(II). *Palmar prints*—The following analysis is based on the 200 palmar configurations of adult male Saoras.

The following table shows the frequency of the three main line formulae as in the right and left hands of the Saoras.

Table I
Frequency of the three typical formulae in per cent

Formulae	Right	Left	Mean
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
11, 9, 7	58.00	30.00	44.00
9, 7, 5 ..	33.00	37.00	35.00
7, 5, 5 ..	10.00	33.00	26.00

From the above table it is clear that 11, 9, 7—more common (occurring in 44.00 per cent) in the right hand than the left. The formulae 9, 7, 5—and 7, 5, 5—were occurring in 30 per cent and 26 per cent respectively and are common in the left hand.

Table II

Frequencies of the types of pattern configurations

Configurations area	Frequency of the patterns in per cent		
	Right	Left	Mean
Hypothemus	2.00	9.00	25.00
Thalamus, inter digital I	9.00	11.00	10.00
Inter digital II	4.00		2.00
Inter digital III	68.00	58.00	63.00
Inter digital IV	44.00	62.00	53.00

The figures show a large percentage of patterns in inter digital III (63 per cent, due to the high incidence of the main line formulae N, V, 7—in many cases).

The following table shows the frequencies of the pattern formulae o.o.l., o.l.o., o.o.o., o.l.d.,

o.o.d., o.l.d. of the combination of the three inter digitals II, III and IV

Table III

Formulae	Frequency of the patterns in per cent		
	Right	Left	Mean
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
O. O. L.	34.00	27.00	17.00
O. L. O.	17.00	4.00	19.50
O. O. O.
o. l. o.	22.00	31.00	27.00
o. l. d.	2.00	8.00	3.00
O. O. D.	11.00	11.00	11.00
O. L. D.	4.00	..	2.00

From the above table it is clear that the combination formulae a.l.o occurs in many cases especially in the left hand) in 27-00 and O.O.L and O.L.O. formulae occur in 17 per cent and 16 per cent respec-

tively. The remaining combinations show insignificant percentages.

Axial Triradius

The following table shows the positions of the axial triradius as observed in the Saoaras.

Table IV

Axial triradius	Position of the axial triradius		
	Right	Left	Total
1	77	85	163
1'	3	3	6
1''	2		2
11'	11	10	21
11' 1''	3		3

Among the Saoaras the axial triradius is seen more or less equally on both right and left hands in the position of 1 (carpal axial triradius). It occurs in 5 cases in right hand and in 3 cases in left hand in the position of 1' (middle axial triradius). In 13 cases of the right hand and in 10 cases of the left hand it occurs in the position of 11 (carpal triradius with central triradius). In only 3 cases in the right hand it occurs in the position 11' carpal axial triradius with central triradius.

Summary

From the analysis of the Anthropometric data and somatoscopic observations, it was observed that majority of the people are short statured 53% with light brown to medium brown skins. The hair on the head is, symmetrical wavy in most of the cases, and they show slight growth of hair on the beard and moustache. There is no epicanthic fold of the eye present among these people and the eye slits look straight. The head form

shows dolichocephaly in most of the cases (54-54%) with a sporadic occurrence of mesocephaly. The head vault is high and majority of them are oxycephalic. 78-18%. The physiognomy of the face is that most of them are having meso to narrow type of faces (mesoprosopicoleptorupic) with jutting molars. The noses are mesorhine to platyrhine in type with straight to concave profiles. The back of the people exhibit medium apt with no cretion.

From the analysis of the finger and palmat prints data of these people it shows that whorls are seen both in the right and left hands where as ulnar loops are more common in the right hand (figs III and V). The Pattern Intensity index is 14-40. The main line formulae 11.9 : is more common among these people. Thus in many respects the Sonas resembles more with other Orissan

tribes like Khond, Juang, Munda, etc., who are of proto-Australian ethnic stock.

References

- Cameron H and C Miles (1913) *Finger Prints, Palms and Soles. An Introduction to Dermatoglyphics*, Philadelphia.
- Rao, P. D. Prasad. 1950. The Dermatoglyphics of the Khonds of Araku Valley (Vindhya-parvat) District, Andhra Pradesh.
- Proceedings of the 16th Indian Science Congress, Delhi*
- Rao P.D. Prasad. 1964. Anthropometric and Dermatoglyphic study of the Juangs in Orissa India.
- Anthropologica* vol VI N. 3 no 2, pp. 223-234. Barker, S. S. (1954) *The Aboriginal Races of India*, Calcutta.

K. L. BHOSWICK

BEX INITIATION IN A DULE BAURI VILLAGE

To secure the most important drives like food, sex matter and social security is accompanied by such an every Dule Bauri village, which is characterised by a strong feeling of maintaining traditional and cultural existence of the village and its strong feeling of their community life. A study of all the socio-cultural elements of the Dule Bauri community has concluded that the sex factor plays a dominant role in the affairs related to the supply of food, the constitution of shelter, and the provision of social security. Therefore, an attempt is here made at studying the aspects related to sex initiation in four Dule Bauri village.

The Dule Bauris constitute an endogenous tribal group of the Bauris in West Bengal. They claim that their ancestors migrated to Dhalbhum of Raikura district from their supposed home in Mandhum of Paralia district and became ultimately subjugated under the socio-cultural authority of the Dhalbhum Rajas. Consequently they developed certain cultural dissimilarities which in course of time helped in differentiating themselves from the other Bauris living elsewhere and in cultivating

a separate tribal group for themselves. According to the survey made by the present writer in 1954-55 it is found that in Dhalbhum there are 28,740 Dule Bauris living in 268 villages. In most of these villages they are in association with other castes and communities and only 12 villages they live by themselves. The village Jagatbela is represented here as one of such villages where the Dule Bauris are alone.

The village Jagatbela is situated in the area of the upper police station Bankura district, West Bengal. A regular postal road being branched out from the Raikura Khata main road and then passing through the village Jagatbela has already been noted. This village Jagatbela is inhabited by 20 Dule Bauri families having a total population of 154 souls of which 82 are males and 72 are females. They were traditionally cultivators but their position in the present tenure system has made them mostly sharecroppers and contract labourers. Moreover they are regarded as peonage labourers who are devoid of certain social as well as customary privileges and are provided with a number of social disabilities.

folk-songs and folk-tales. Some of the folk songs like *phumra tana* and *khada* directly refer sex affairs. Moreover the action organised in *patra* (opera) and in *khantu* a kind of dance, provide them with a good deal of sex-knowledge. Scandals in society are openly discussed which help in writing their sex-knowledge. Also, certain observances made in connection with a marriage ceremony and certain actions performed in giving a birth of a child is not attempt to conceal anything from the children, which in cases help in develop their sex-queries.

The Dule Bauri children acquire the sex experience in their early life. From personal interviews taken with the informants of different age grades it is evident that in most cases the first experience of sexual act of the young people of either sex is received from the married people. Usually the old and unattractive people and the widows widowers take the lead in such affairs. After their first sex experience with the elderly people they come to their own generation. In most cases they start the affair playfully. It is seen that their parents overlook such games of *bar-han khela* (husband-wife play), the acting of *ma-baba* (mother-father) and *maur-maur* (father-in-law and mother-in-law) in *patra* (the drama) and marriage play the role performance of husband and wife in *ghar-han khela* (family play) and even *thakur-paya khela* (spirit worship play) where the children do, apart from other acts the sexual act also. In the latter game a boy plays the role of a Brahmin and a girl the role of a Dule Bauri

woman while others stand aside as watching Dule Bauri children. In as well as outside such games it is not unusual to go against the rule of moral without the fear of any social consequence.

When they are a little grown-up, they lose some of their freedom and leisure. The boys take up the profession of *bagul* (cattle-tending) and become apprentices in their father's profession. The girls, on the other hand, attend their own houses to their mothers. Thus they get their entry in the economic life of the society. In this stage they also earn their affiliations in socio-political life of the community. They are no more children but are recognised as boys and girls. Presumably they have no bar in participating in any rites organised by any sex. But now they can only participate in rites organised by their own sex. At this stage the girls due to their close association with the women-folk, gradually acquire the knowledge of menstruation and the beliefs and traditions associated with it. They observe that the first menstruation in a girl is caused by the introduction of her male genital organ into the female one. It does not happen in any other way, save and except the same is done by a male spirit in sleep. Now it is very improper for a Dule Bauri girl to have the experience of first menstruation before she is duly married to a Dule Bauri individual. Therefore the grown up unmarried girls being furnished with this knowledge and tradition, always avoid the members of the opposite sex.

For various reasons the Dule Bauri boys do not find it easier to

establish sexual connections with those girls of their own generation. From a consideration of their social prestige they cannot easily approach the girls of younger generations too, who are less restricted and enjoy more freedom. And there is another consideration that they fail to approach those girls playfully as the little boys often do. In practice, the older girls do strongly resist them and sometimes make gestures which attract the attention of the elderly people who seriously rebuke and threaten the boys. As a result of all these, the boys become isolated. But they have begun to acquire sex knowledge from their very, early life and have already received a few primary experiences. Moreover their biology at this stage demands actual sex gratification which is denied by the social strictures imposed upon them. This situation in which their growing sexual desires do not find a way of channelisation, leads them to homosexual practices which they adopt more freely and do more frequently in such isolated grazing fields. In cases it is also not unknown to gratify their sexual desires with domesticated animals like cow, buffalo, goat, etc. During this part of life, they develop a strong attachment for the women. They watch the women in actions and also in sleep, which help them in doing their homosexual activities and in causing night pollution. In addition to all these indirect affairs, it has been reported that some of them establish a direct sex relation with the women aged, deserted or perverted.

Menstruation, i.e., the flow of blood from the uterine mucosa of a woman in a cyclic order is locally known as *pañ*. In their mode of living and material existence the Hindu Bauria expressly show all the characteristics of an agricultural community. Whatever area of land they may hold they are the tillers of soil and depend wholly or mainly on the harvest of paddy crop. They employ the most of their time, energy and intelligence in the affairs of raising crops. In consequence of this they have not only acquired more and more practical knowledges of these affairs or have attained adequate skill and experience in the trade but have also developed a greater tie with this particular mode of living. Whenever they need an explanation of any affairs of their socio-cultural life they stretch their hands to the store room where agriculturally oriented knowledges in their culture are well preserved. In explaining menstruation they smoothly elevate their agricultural knowledges and conceptions to such an extent that they nicely imagine and symbolise the woman as a plot under cultivation. A plot being wet through the action of rainfall, becomes cultivable. And, once at this stage of development can plough and sow seeds if he wants to raise a crop. In their way of symbolisation they equate menstruation with rainfall, the male organ with the plough, and women with the seeds. Further they explain that the rain-water comes from the heaven (*varsha*) and helps to wet the genital organ of the mother earth (*Parvati*) and then passes to the bottom (*pañ*). Accordingly they equate the plough share with the

genital organ of the god Siva (Shiva-linga), and the corn with the goddess Lami.

In the Dul Bauri community a girl and a woman have two different entities. They say that a girl attains the womanhood with her first experience of menstruation. Before her attainment of womanhood she is in no case allowed to prepare or even to touch the food stuffs which can be offered to any of their deities, is not permitted to participate directly in any ritual organised by the women-folk though she may join them and observe their doings, is not entitled to participate in agricultural operations like sowing paddy seedlings from nursery bed, and washing the same in the plots under transplantation, and is not allowed to practise the treading method of winnowing and to paddle the husking lever though she may assist the operation by sitting on the left side of the head of the lever.

In the Bauri society it is believed that the first flow of the menstrual blood in a girl comes at and when she establishes the sexual contact with a male. In former times, due to their practice of early marriage (the average age of the bride was eight years) they did not find anything against their belief. But now the age at marriage has become considerably increased. As a rule, in the period of 11 to 13 years the Dul Bauri girl experiences her first menstruation. On the other hand it is not very uncommon today to find a Dul Bauri bride of 15 or 16 years of age. Therefore it is logical that in her maidenhood a Dul Bauri girl may have the experience of

her first menstruation. However, it is very improper on her part because a Dul Bauri girl is always expected to remain a virgin till she is married. In such an incidence neither the girl nor her parents admit the possibility of a human being helped it but the whole responsibility is laid down on the shoulders of an unseen spirit. If that unmarried girl does not become pregnant in the course of time, the neighbours do also agree with the spirit theory. If the pregnancy is developed, the girl's family is to deliver the name of the person concerned. If the girl or the girl's family fails to give a name to the village Panchayat, the family will have to pay a heavy fine and will have to find out a groom before she gives birth to a child. If the person responsible is found the village Panchayat applies some pressure on both the families to arrange the marriage and to pay the fine. In another case, in proper marriage (dotal) ceremony can be conducted. In such case a *sarpa* (remarriage) ceremony is observed but the parents of the girl don't receive the benefit of *sarpa*, i.e., the higher amount of bride price. This union is socially less favoured. Therefore, if it happens that a girl in her maidenhood experiences her first menstruation and does not become pregnant, she and her family keep the fact under covering. After wards a marriage is negotiated and the actual marriage ceremony is observed. The girl in that case makes a show and reports accordingly to her mother-in-law the first menstruation after marriage as the first menstruation of her womanhood.

The marriage of a boy before attaining his manhood with a girl before attaining her womanhood is still a preferred social practice. At this stage of their development both of them fail to adjust in their newly married life and to gratify their sexual desires. The girl is too young to endure the hearings of such an awful experience and she always tries to avoid her husband. However she does not find a complete escape because of strictures formulated in their marriage ceremony. It is customary that after the ceremony of the eighth day (*natunagola*) the pair returns to the house of the groom and there they reside for a month.

On the first night after coming back from *natunagola*, it is ritually prescribed that the husband should attend his wife which has been so far tabooed for both of them. Women from neighbouring houses assemble there and they till they hear the weeping voice of the bride. Then it is considered that ritually the marriage ceremony is concluded. Now let us have two sample narrations. One of my old informants describes "I was of twelve and she was of eight years old. I did already gather some knowledge and experience, and above all on that day I got all the detailed instructions from my sister's husband. At night I went in and closed the door. She was standing in one corner of the room with a posture common to a frightened animal. First I tried to talk with her. She did not respond. I was then tempted not by sexual desires but by emotional curiosity. I brought her to my bed and attend her as a

husband. To each and every act she made her full resistance, and I applied more and more physical force to win over her. At last being tired of it I turned to sleep while she continued her weeping." One of my female informants describes "Just after the evening elder brother's wife of my husband and other women brought me to a room and left me there alone. During my childhood I gathered some experiences playfully and on the day of marriage I received all possible information and necessary instructions from my brother's wife. Still I felt myself quite helpless in that room and became very much frightened. After a little while my husband was sent in. He closed the door and told me to take sit. Without making any reply I shifted my position to one corner of the room. Within the room he moved this way and that way and finally putting the light off he took me on the bed. I was so badly treated that at last I could not find anything better but to cry in a shrill voice. Ultimately the sleep took my pains away. In the early morning I was received by his elder brother's wife who took me to a bundh water-martair'. After the bathing is completed she brought some creepers and instructed me to paint the extract of those creepers along the walls of my private, as the capture of it had already caused some injury. According to our tradition from that day onward I had to live with him a complete month. In that month I was everyday advised and even sometimes forced by her female relatives like brother's wife, sister and even mother to go and to sleep with him. In fact I had no other way to avoid the dire

from of my in-laws. At last the month ended and I returned to my parents' house. I lived there for a couple a year when my husband paid several visits but I never slept with him. When the year ended I came to my husband's house. This time too I sleep with him, or a night.

It is always expected that the girl should have her experience of first sex a reunion in the house of her husband. If it happens in the house of her parents, her father has to make all possible efforts to turn the favour of all the village deities and to arrange a social feast where at least, village men and officials of the Grama Panchayat village-council, and relations of her husband are to be invited. To arrange this kind of social feast and to make offerings to all the village deities are also observed in the house of her husband when she finally returns there. The period of ritual pollution, on the part of a menstruating woman is considered for three days. On the fourth day before the sun rises she takes her bath and anoints her body with an oil-turmeric paste. Thereafter, she becomes ritually clean. She wears a new sort of female garment which is not to be purchased from the dealers in the market, but, from a local weaver against a payment of cash only. She then prepares the debt offering consisting of uncooked rice, and a rupee-coin, acorns, fruits and a new cloth male garment. She, being accompanied by other women of her caste goes to the house of a Bengali Brahman and offers the debt to the housewife who sprinkles some Gangaic water over her head.

When the cycle starts on Thursday or Saturday, her father-in-law or her father when she lives in her family of origin makes the provision of ghay clarified butter and a doll or image of her former activities excepting the debt. After receiving it, these a Bengali Brahmin is summoned to offer the first offering in fire and pray the blessings of god for that Duta Brahma. All these are observed in case of first menstruation only. It is another point if the first menstruation is experienced before marriage and if it is not kept under covering they are to follow certain additional observances too. In that case they are to invite all the members of a caste-shakha and in respect to offering debt to a Bengali Brahmin family the number becomes increased from one to three.

If any menstruation afterwards she is also to observe a period of ritual pollution for consecutive three days. On the fourth day before the sun rises she takes her bath and anoints her person with an oil-turmeric paste. She then ritually becomes clean. In the period of these three days she is to observe the following taboos and descriptions. The entry into kitchen as well as store-room is avoided. She is not to sleep in bed with her husband and is not to use any cot for her sleeping. She is to make a bed of dry paddy stalks on the floor where she sleeps a solitary. She is not to touch the person of any male and is not allowed to touch any object used by a member of the male folk. She is not allowed to serve any thing to any man and it is highly improper to take even a glass of

water from her hand. During these three days she can take her bath and can anoint her body with mustard oil but in no case she is allowed to nourish her hair on head with oil. She is not to go anywhere outside the boundary of the village and should not go to a tank alone in the evening. In her period she is tabued from participating in any ritual or ceremony in the village.

Also, it is seen that the Ojile Beas children begin to acquire sex knowledge during the period of their childhood. They collect these information from the talks

and actions of their own people and neighbours, and also from ceremonial observances and birth rites. Very little secrecy is maintained to conceal anything from the children. It is seen that they earn their sex-experience also earlier. This comes to them through childish games and as a grace from the perverted population. Their concept of menstruation and practices of early marriage lead them to a situation where they fail to develop a healthy sex relation in the beginning. This ultimately marks a stronger negative impression on their growing thought-process.

The Kondhs are numerically the largest Scheduled Tribe in the State of Orissa who were once notorious for Meriah human sacrifice. They number 818,847 according to the Census of 1961. The Kondhs are divided into several sub-tribes. Though they are distributed in all the districts their main concentration is in Phulbani, Ganjam, Koraput, Kalahandi, Nabalpur and Bolangir. They worship the whole year a number of Gods and Goddesses to gain some material or social advantages. Here is described their pantheon, relation of major and minor deities, role of religious functionaries and custom, myth and the social significance of these religious rites on the basis of the observation in the village Rajpattendi in Phulbani district.

It is indeed difficult to enlist the numerous names of the Kondh Gods and Goddesses presiding over the field, forest, village and home. The Kondhs believe that the various deities can be appeased through rituals like prayer, offerings, sacrifices and feasts accompanied by singing and drinking. A through the way of approach for

THE KONDH PANTHEON AND THEIR SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE

behaviour of super empirical approach varies from community to community the goal is same, i.e., to control the supernatural powers. They worship eighty-four deities at the time of sowing, harvesting and other ceremonial occasions. But their Chief or High deity is 'Haroon' the Tadapenu. Long ago Human sacrifice was practised by Kondhs and the blood was offered to Tadapenu or 'Rurapenu'. The most potent intention was to provide a magical fertilizer for the soil to secure a plentiful harvest. "The main three purposes of Human sacrifice were (1) to enhance the fertility of the soil, (2) to secure firm foundation of a building and (3) to secure good water supply from a well or pond". The Meriah sacrifice of the Kondhs became so notorious that General Campbell and Captain Mac Pherson had to take special pains to stamp it out during British rule.

Now a-days Kondh practice buffalo sacrifice instead of human sacrifice which is called as 'Kedu'. But Kudatuk and Nungson, Maghs of Phulbani district where I studied their customs is exception in this respect. 'Kedu' festival is observed

ed in the months of March and April in order to worship their ancestral deity Dumasabham. It is nothing but secondary mortuary ritual. This festival is celebrated for seven days having different rites on different days. On this occasion buffaloes are put to slay other men whose vir are offered to Daram' in communal houses. They observe that the soul will burn in an other form i. e. the upper world for some years the dead persons remain as human or ghost. But after that they are treated as ancestral spirits. Kumbha have an idea that by offering buffaloes meat to their Dumasabham and its blood to Daram' the earth goddess they would win peace and calamity and their soul will yield more. The Kumbha word for god is "Param" irrespective of sex. They locate their gods in the village sky earth and under world. But under the Hindu influence these beliefs are changing.

Kumbha believe that a supreme goddess rules over all the gods i.e. Daram' the symbol of which consists of a stone. Pig and hen are sacrificed before Daram' along with the first fruit in New rice etc. Other materials like Kumbha and Arasa Manga Naga Wine and piece of rice are offered to the deity.

The Kumbha believe that Daram' is the creator of the whole universe. In each and every Kumbha raba streets and Oriza raba there is Daram'. The worshippers of Daram' is known as Dambha. The priest is generally Daram' placed and he will be varamba or in the varamba. There are four Daram' Dambha are two Kedu Dambha in

the village Kanjambend. The worshippers of Daram' must be a Kumbha or an Oriza. There are fifteen raba streets and twenty-two Daram' in the village.

Generally, Daram' is established according to Raba. Even people of same kind language can establish a Daram' if they are living in a separate raba. Apart from that different types people can establish different Daram' though they remain in the same Raba. Daram' can be established in the month of Chaitra i.e. March and April just before the Kedu festival. The raba people will sit together and select a faithful man to keep Daram' in his varamba.

On the appointed day the Dambha comes and brings a shobha. He usually wears a purified cloth and observes fasting to perform the Paga. He establishes Daram' and worships with some rice to four goddesses namely Tudapena Daramapena Surapena and Varamba Dambha. On that day the Gama people have to sacrifice a pig or fowl before Daram'. The Dambha keeps the vet and blood in Daram'. As the time goes members contribute some rice and pachtu pair in the feast. The women are not allowed to take the meat which was offered to Daram'. The people also offer rice pig water and egg to Daram' while they establish Daram' newly.

They worship Daram' in order to be saved from the wild animals like tiger and bear as well as for the betterment of their domestic animals. They also worship in other occasions such as in death

rituals in Koda festivals, in 'Sadrangi' and in 'Marangtaka'. Except these they also worship 'Darani' if a lady saw 'Darani' during her menstruation period. While worshipping Darani the Nambe wears a good cloth and observes fasting till he finishes the Puja. At the time of sacrifice he keeps three 'Sali' leaves near Darani. Then he keeps the rice on it. After that he kills the pig or fowl and adds blood on that rice uttering some mantras in Kui language for different purposes. From the above facts we can conclude that 'Darani' is the centre of Kondh social organisation because 'Darani' is worshipped in each festival and in their social life like marriage, birth and death in which all the Gari members unite together and arrange a feast. Darani or 'Tdapenu' is treated to be among the household deities. She has six sisters, i.e. Rarapoti, Bad-pena, Dimbuli, Sambuli, Kokali, and Bikelali and they are for different purposes. In any sort of festivals or rituals they are worshipped with blood and meat of heavier portion. Apart from this 'Darani' is worshipped in several occasions like Butali, 'Koda Marang' etc. The Kondhs believe that "Darani" the earth Goddess presides over all the minor deities and stands as surely and securely in their lives. They are very particular to worship Darani on all occasions while worshipping the other deities.

Forest God (Luhapenu) :
This deity is worshipped by a special 'Tiambe' at an interval of 7 years. In this festival villagers of Kanyamendi, Rajapura, Jambupada, Dedimaha, Dimisinga, Soti

guda, Dadi-Pakia, Dagum, Langarain, Mundargam, Jamba, Kudatuli, join. As the 'tiambe' carries an iron rod symbolising the god with him while going to perform the puja, the name of god is 'Luhapenu'. This puja is celebrated in the month of Baisakh (April and May) with a goat sacrifice and done in anticipation of safety from natural calamities.

Previously the 'Tiambe' and his wife were remaining there for 7 days but now they are giving 7 days leave for each day in that will a different deity worship. All the villagers gather there and dance merrily singing songs and beating drums. At first the villagers of Kanyamendi settle a day and then other villagers are informed. This puja is observed at intervals when 'Luhapenu' attacks any body.

Saloped (Sachipenu)

Kondhs worship 'Sachipenu' in order to get showers they required. This deity is established by rituals but worshipped by an Oriya from which the name is derived. Sach-Oriya (Penu-God). They worship a 'Sal' tree as the symbol of 'Sachipenu' in every 7 years through a special 'tiambe'.

Fountain God (Xirupenu)

The following fountains they worship at the time of Koda festival namely 'Nabajrichua', 'Sachichua' and 'Bagal-banda-chua'. They worship this fountain god with an egg in order to get pure water and to console the fountain god throughout the whole year. Besides this they also worship in

certain death rituals like *Aras Paja* (A man whose killed by tiger) and in other ceremonies like marriage.

Field God (Gambetupenu or Pakkhandu Devata)

This festival is celebrated in the month of Chaitra. The *Darasa Thamma* performs this *paja* as a *punitan*. Every year the *Thamma* worships with some *Aras* rice and an egg. Except this if a person suffers due to 'Gambetupenu' then one goat or fowl is sacrificed. Previously this God was in a thatched cottage but now no such house is there. I was told by my informants that many people are cured by propitiating this deity.

Household Gods (Domastakanti)

The *Kanthu* has a strong belief in like other gods and goddesses. The *Kanthu* his gods are very powerful and receive offerings. The deity is the ancestral god of *Kanthu* who is always associated with numerous spirits who act like agents and keeps eye over the progress and prosperity of the family members of each house. During illness the house owner mind state performs the *paja* by offering rice and wine etc.

Nalupenu: The deity is worshipped in the month of Jyestha by the family elder. Fowl is sacrificed. *Nalupenu* is represented by 'Langolipenu' which is the skin of yak or buffalo, man, snake, elephant etc. The deity brings different diseases to cattle.

Siripenu: The *Siripenu* is the deity of kitchen room. Fowl is

sacrificed along with rice and wine in the month of May and June in order to be saved from dangers. Old clay vessels of the kitchen are changed and the *Kandha* add new vessels to their kitchen.

Budetipenu: This deity is worshipped in the month of Margasir (November-December) by the *Darasa Thamma*. The *Kanthu* members unite and worship before cutting the paddy and other crops from the wet land. They perform 'Budeti Paja' to get good and tall crop. Pig is sacrificed with rice, wine, etc. The deity is represented by a stone and is placed in an open field under a jack tree.

Nadupenu: In the month of Kartik this is worship. 'Nadupenu' the idol of *Kantha* and *Kanthu* in *Rama Nagar* etc. to get good crops under the influence of Hindu tradition. Rice, plantation and animals are offered near the deity temple.

Malevolent Deities

Basupenu: This god is somewhat angry with the people. He destroys the crops. The *Darasa Thamma* worships this deity sacrificing fowl and pig.

Kalupenu: 'Kalupenu' means the drought God. He is worshipped once in a year by the *Darasa Thamma* in order to bring rain. Fowl is sacrificed.

Asupenu: This deity causes small-pox and is worshipped far away from the village. The *Kanthu Thamma*'s mother worships it by sacrificing fowl or goat before this deity.

Danda Pennu—This god causes pain in the belly, headache and muscular pains. Food, rice and wine are offered to this god by a Kutagatanju (the shaman).

Radhu Pennu—This god destroys the whole dynasty if not properly propitiated. It is symbolized by a copper plate and a silver super. Goat and fowl are sacrificed before this god in order to please Him.

Manipennu—Manipennu is worshipped by an Oriya to save the family members. This type of puja is generally done at night as witnessed by sacrificing fowl and pig as a part of performance for a sick person by offering pig, fowl, egg, wine, Arua rice, vermilion, ghee, turmeric powder and a new clay vessel. The male members may either arrange a feast with the sacrificed animal or throw it away.

Religious Functionaries

To be the *Hambas* the Kondh functionaries worship from their own community on several occasions. Their posts are hereditary. The Kondhs believe that by worshipping benevolent deities there will be peace, progress and prosperity not only to the individual but also to the entire community as a whole. They follow certain rites and rituals to appease the super natural force to avert evil spell. Persons given these special nature of duties are called functionaries who enjoy high rank in the society. They are of four kinds of such functionaries viz. 1) *Hamba* (the worshipper), the master of ritual and go-between of man and god; 2) *Kutagatanju*, the magician and

Shaman; (3) *Kutagatali* (lady shaman) who cures the epidemic diseases by enjoying the intimate relationship with God; 4) *Bukha* (the oldest man of the family) who worships home deities. There are 3 categories of 'Hambas' like 'Darusu Hamba' who worships 'Darusu', 'Kodu Hamba' who worships in 'Kodu' only and other 'Hambas' who worship deities like *Luhapenu*, *Sasipenu*, etc. All of them observe certain taboos throughout the year and also at the time of worshipping.

Previously they were rewarded with land instead of remuneration. But now a days they are all supported by the state as well as by super according to their nature of performance in various ceremonial occasions and rituals.

In all sorts of religious rites and rituals the concerned men contribute their amount and enjoy that day by singing and dancing. But by the functionaries take part in eating and drinking.

Economy of a Kondh Festival

I had an opportunity of witnessing the 'Salanglaka' of the Kondhs of Kanjamendi. The Kondhs are divided into many groups. They are distinguished from each other in their customs, tradition, languages and practices. Here the exact economic constitution of one of the ceremonies of the Kondhs is given below. It is needless to point out that even in the twentieth century their customs and traditions remained as usual. Sometimes their religion governs their economic life and as the

causes of their misery and indebtedness. Some of them are converted over to Christianity leaving their traditions and some of them are on the way of Hinduisation. In fact the Konds religious is in flux now.

I observed the "Salungilaka" of Margut Maak and Getaa Pradhan of village Kan, Amendi the economy of which is mentioned below. Its purpose is to be free from all sorts of dangers. Fowl, wine and eggs are offered and Buddha the old man of the family worships it.

Sl No.	Name of the festival	Cost of animal	Cost of the foodgrains	Cost of wine	Miscellaneous	Total	Remarks
1	"Salungilaka" of Margut Maak	Fowl 2 Rs. 4-30	Paddy and cooked rice Rs. 7-00	rice Salap 8-00 wine Rs. 1-00	Eggs 2 Rs. 0-20 clay vessel Rs. 2-25	Rs. 14-95	"
2	"Salungilaka" of Getaa Pradhan	Fowl 2 Rs. 4-00	Paddy and cooked rice Rs. 5-75	rice Salap 8-00 wine Rs. 1-30	Eggs 2 Rs. 0-20 clay vessels 3 Rs. 2-50	Rs. 13-75	

Salungilaka :

It is observed by men and women. The oldest man of the family worships it instead of a family Priest. They change their cooking vessels. One fowl is offered along with egg and wine near Salapeta the God of the cowshed. The worshipper observes fasting. The sacrificed meat is only taken by the males and the females are taboned. Some people call their lineage god members to participate in the feast. While worshipping they keep "Dand" the loads of bullock, horse, elephant, bullock, yoke and a plough man. Fowl, egg, wine, Salap leaves, Bāba (fruit) and raw rice are also required.

Purpose: Their main purpose is that no danger will come to them, the wild animals would not attack

their cattle and the sweet rice with oil causes any disease when they are properly deposited. A fowl is sacrificed in the kitchen to the ancestors and the meat is taken by the females only. This saga is called "Tak ngalaka". On that day they are taboned to do any sort of work.

Social Significance :

Each of these Konds festivals has got certain important social significance for which these religious festivals and rituals are observed. The Konds have a strong belief that the ancestral estate on which rice is grown, the ploughing, sowing, transplanting and harvesting of the crop, the basket in which paddy is stored and the measure used for measuring paddy all require ritual attention. It may be

recalled that the Kondh continues to take an interest in his family affairs even after his death on which the prosperity and happiness of the family and indirectly of the total society depends. At the time of harvesting they celebrate *Budhipu*, which is followed by a collective sacrifice and dinner of the entire team members.

At the end of their harvesting the team members celebrate *Kon-laku Pan* expressing a concern for plenty according to *K. Peth Lal* is a community means organization of the interest of individuals, regulations of their behavior towards one another and grouping of them together for common action. The relationship created between them can be seen to have some kind of plan or system which may be called the social structure."

It goes without saying that Religion lays down together on several occasions like *'Sakunglaku'*, *'Nunkhu'* festival, marriage and death, and finally in *'Sachipenu'* are temple as in family, caste, village and Munda level. So religion is binding force amongst individuals and it contributes to the existence of society as an order and continuing system of relationships amongst human beings.

Hence it is seen practically that religion binds them together in various festivals and rituals as a force of social control in family, Gani village and Munda level. "In brief we can conclude that in a village men have hoped that by the proper performance of religious action or observances they would obtain some specific benefit, health and long life, children to carry on their line, material well-being, success in hunting, rain, the growth of crops and the multiplication of cattle, victory in war, admission of their souls after death to a paradise or merely release by the extinction of personality from the round of retransmigration."

"The Henry Myers Lecture 1946

Literature Cited

- 1 Anthropology on the March 344-45.
 - 2 The Henry Myers Lecture 1946
 - 3 Economics of a Santa ceremony by M Das & B Ghoshdary *Vidyajyoti* Vol XII No 1 January 1954
 - 4 Religion and society among the Gonds of South India. by M. N. Srinivas
-

METHODS OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND STUDY OF TRIBES IN INDIA *

Anthropology as the all embracing Science of a man has made great strides during the last century. After the formative period during which it suffered from a good deal of infantile meanderings it has established itself a role in the domain of sciences. Constant and painstaking efforts of field workers all over the world who adopted various methods from different branches of sciences, technology and humanities broadened the scope of the discipline. All these were incorporated to devise suitable tools. Physical Anthropology as a part and parcel of biological Sciences virtually becomes a concrete discipline. Similarly Prehistoric Archaeology with the help of geology and palaeontology established itself as a specific branch of knowledge. Linguistics with multiple collaboration has developed its own precepts. Thus was left Social Anthropology to proceed at rather a lesser speed as a discipline to study the social life of man. In the present paper the dimensions

of Social Anthropology and the processes through which it is emerging as a comprehensive study of the man will be analysed. Although ideas and concepts on the theoretical frame work have been taken into account, the present paper is mostly based on direct experience of studying different human groups particularly those pre-literate communities which are known as tribes.

Any book on the history of anthropological theories and thoughts clearly shows that social anthropology was born out of curiosity. When Europeans came in contact with different groups of people in the farthest continents many of the adventurers considered it worthwhile to record the quaint customs and practices differed from the European ways of life. Colonization brought in its train missionaries, administrators and merchants. Some of them took pains and interest to record the customs and practices of different human types, their beliefs and

* Seminar on research methodology in social sciences of India sponsored jointly by Department of Anthropology, Ranchi University & Council of Social and Cultural Research, Bham (Pune) U. C. I. New Delhi from 19th December to 24th December 1968.

faith, their religion and so on. The eminent scholars at home compiled these which ultimately became classics in Anthropology.

Interested scholars from other disciplines like Franz Boas, Melnikowski Rivers, Radcliff Brown took to study the man. However these scholars definitely established the tradition of field work. They considered the languages as background material to be substantiated and established by painstaking field work among the particular group of people. This was the foundation of the scientific approach. Thereafter it was reckoned that studies by actually living with the community is the only ground for social Anthropology. Year after year a good number of scholars and research workers all over the world are engaged in the study of different communities be primitive or advanced.

With the emergence of new world as the most affluent nation scholars in U.S.A. vigorously pursued the study of man. Geographical, social and political environment in the United States of America gave Philip to studies in social Anthropology. In a multi-racial and multi-lingual country such studies could be easily taken up. Thus we found immediately after the Second World War that leadership was given in anthropological studies by the American Universities and foundations. A large number of publications on the subject extended to different parts of the world. It is, therefore, natural that in India we are getting more and more influenced

by methodology and concepts from the country.

The earlier generation of anthropologists in our country were mostly trained in England. Thus naturally they were oriented to the thoughts and ideas developed in the British Empire. Our literature on the subject were based on concepts of functionalism as integrated approach to cultural problem. All these were basically products of intensive field work among the pre-literate tribal communities which abounded in this sub-continent. Moreover the administrators and civil servants required a good deal of insight into the life of contemporary tribal people for peace and good Government in those areas. They therefore encouraged and stimulated studies among the different tribes. The scholars who were trained on the subject in Calcutta or at Patna under S. C. Ray were keen on studying the tribal communities.

After independence our Constitution placed an onerous responsibility on the entire nation to develop and safeguard the interest of the tribes. On no other subject the Government has been so emphatic as on the development of tribes. Even the slightest fundamental rights, make deviations in case of Scheduled Tribes and tribal areas. The laws of the land were to be administered in such a manner as to improve the tribes within a certain stipulated period. Liberal financial provisions were envisaged for this purpose. A machinery to watch over the progress was also established both at the centre and States. All these therefore made it absolutely essential in our

country to concentrate on the contemporary tribal people. This position has been indicated hereto clearly point out the environment in which Social Anthropology is now being studied in this country as divergent from other advanced countries.

In India a good number of developmental programmes have been launched. The Five-Year Plans have been responsible for establishment of industries, river valley projects, hydro-electric schemes and communication, transport railways have been extended to many remote tribal areas. The vast mineral potentialities are being exploited. Agriculture, animal husbandry, poultry have been improved. The tribal people have adopted some of these innovations. But by and large the majority of tribes could not fully accept innovations to any great extent and change has only been peripheral. Bound by the age old traditions and social inhibitions many of the tribes continue to retain their close cultural base. The soft core of their cultural has shown some material changes but the basic faith and beliefs persist. As those have contributed directly or indirectly to intercept their adoption of new ideas and values of life.

Planners, administrators and anthropologists who have studied theoretical concepts of planning and development are sometimes bewildered to fully account for such inertia and apathy among the different communities to adopt and accept changes. Of course our non-tribal rural communities are equally bound by such traditions. But here we are mainly dealing the

tribes who have distinct pattern of culture distinguishable from other communities. It will not be out of place to indicate here some of the basic realities which confront anthropologists in this sub-continent. Some students who have lived and studied the tribes for some years have found that the tribal people on many occasions stick firmly to their social values although change agents have been vigorous. Bailey has shown that among Khasias of First and land is the basic ingredient of social status and politics, ascendancy. The goal drive among Khasias therefore has been to acquire land as much as possible. Study of Saoras by the author for last 10 years has shown that wet land cultivation as well as shifting cultivation on hill clearings are the main occupation of the tribe. Saoras whether living in the present world or in the under world after death equally value land. It is only mortgaged never permanently transferred. Among Jungs of Keonjhar who are primarily shifting cultivators hill clearings are held by communal ownership and are allocated by village head man to individual family members. After allotment to a family the possession is retained with great care. The backward Bond Highlanders pay no less respect to land. The value attached to land makes tribals immensely agitated when they lose possession of land. No doubt scouring of non-tribals into tribal areas produced the first casualty that is the disorientation of tribals from the valley lands. This is the basic motivation in tribal uprisings in the past and in the present.

Tribes live in close association with forest in their legends there are descriptions that they settled down by clearing forests. Many settlement of Munda speaking tribes had the suffix *Sim* means water and *Dih* means forest. The deprivation of rights over forest gave the tribes the greatest shock. The forest policy of 1843 cancelled the traditional rights of the tribals over the forest. This as well as the conservation of forest was considered expedient subject to the benefits enjoyed by the tribals. But afterwards, forest policy from time to time has overlooked basic rights of the tribals and have therefore made the autochthones feel alien in their own home land.

The pre-literate people all over the world are bound by a chain of reciprocity. Barter and exchange economy practised by tribals enable them to maintain this chain. When the money economy made inroads into the tribal life it could not fully replace the traditional form of barter. On the other hand it provided opportunity for outsiders to exploit them. Being unaware of the implications of modern ways of life, the tribals usually do not make a distinction about their immediate and future needs. The usual ebullient life gives way to depression and frustration. Modern values of life pre-suppose savings and unmitigated crass for money and material possession. When these values are introduced among tribals they do not readily acquire these. As a result their world view continues to be different from others. They are thus exploited by cunning groups. Their economic life cannot take a turn for better.

Education among the tribals continued to be informal and pragmatic. It was based on jointard of discipline and actual training to grow up. On the other hand the formal education with all its concomitant aspects produce a significant impact on the tribes. Once the basic values were made to change in tribal life through our formal education the core of discipline and training got a set back. Dormitory education, which is still prevalent among different tribes may show how well organized and effective this institution has been to provide education and training to the youth. When this is given a go by the tribals seek recreation in movies and alcoholism. Sex offences and delinquencies were unknown among the tribals, areas are on increase. During the recent riots in Bourkela it was shown by a study that the tribals took to large scale slaughter without understanding anything of communal disharmony due to partition of the sub-continent. The wide spread students unrest and the prevailing indiscipline in different walks of life made inroads into tribal life. The usual barrier which isolated tribals into certain extent, no longer crumbled before them.

The earlier definition of a tribe which may hold good describes a tribe as a group of people having common language, customs and practices inhabiting a particular geographical area. Thus a tribe is bound by a large number of traits which determine its pattern of life. The leadership in each community be on secular or on unreligious aspect was from within the community. The child grows up in the

milieu of parental care, neighbour hood affiliation. Village elders, and tribals chiefs had their joint and several contribution. The rule taking and growing up in tribal society were therefore deeply associated with the training which are provided to them by all those agencies. When modernity intruded, Panchayats and the different type leadership with legislators, sarpanchas, ward members, etc., the traditional leadership lost its grip over the community. A study conducted by Tribal Research Bureau among the Santals an ex-patriate tribe who spread over different States has shown, that even they would not accept democratic elections with that amount of vapour which was expected from them. Most of the remained indifferent and allowed even non-tribals to be elected as their representatives. Even in the statutory elected bodies those being associated with power of the rulers were more awe inspiring. In case of backward tribes like Santhals there was even difficulty to induce someone to contest in panchayat elections. One nominated sarpanch after a short time found the job uninteresting and resigned it. On the other hand Santhals have their traditional head men to arbitrate over their disputes and to settle their problems with the administration. All these head men were brushed aside by statutory elected leaders. Thus the result has been a vacuum in leadership in most of the tribal areas.

Recent tribal upheavals in parts of Andhra Pradesh bordering Orissa State has shown that tribals who have openly broken the law, understood very little of the higher ethics of Marxism, left communism or

some such lun. They understood very little of individual ownership versus public ownership, private enterprise versus socialism. They understood one point that most of their land have been under the possession of non-tribals before a few years. Prospects of shifting cultivation were curbed by forest regulations. Economic life has not improved. Contact with the urban centres changed their world view and level of aspiration. They found that redress through normal official channels has not been possible during all these years. In spite of the launching of development programmes and visit of officials their main needs have not been satisfied. Hence their minds were charged with suspicion and antipathy. At the time of such mounting frustrations any trouble shooter or agent provocateur could find his way over the tribals to encourage them to take law in their own hands. Had the traditional leadership been able to hold them the result would have been perhaps different. But in an area of leadership vacuum that could not be possible.

Tribals in the borders have been agitating for quite some time. Nagas have got a State. Mizo demand a separate Mizo land. Assam is now going to have a separate hill state. The older leaders for the same cause who had several representatives in Bihar and Orissa State Legislatures are losing the control and there has emerged a new leadership mostly of young men. Some of them are educated in the universities and colleges. They have debated on the separate State formed in the Eastern Frontier. They have taken into account the scope of development and

employment and have based their demand for separate State. Though in Orissa and Bihar we consider this movement as indications of disintegration we overlook the fact, further, that during these years we have not done much to catch the imagination of the tribals in general and the youth in particular. Tribal leaders, who represent those in the villages, get a word from the rank and file and from the mass streams of tribal out-migration. Hence, they come their grip over the tribals. In the absence of a systematic leadership the tribals will not be blamed for want of their energy for a separate political structure. Rapid industrialisation in these areas have generated a number of changes. Conversion to Christianity has equally induced progress. Arms, centres and their target projects have created a great reshuffle. All these have contributed for a different mode of life in the area.

It has also been found that by chance accident industries, river valley and hydroelectric, mineral development projects are mostly created in tribal areas. These projects result in a displacement of a good number of tribals from their homes. According to the existing law they get paid some cash compensation. This is spent quickly by various means and the tribals who lose their land and houses seldom go on a strike at the initial stage. Some of them are engaged as unskilled labour. But thereafter they cannot get any other employment and become refugees. The state which has the sacred duty to safeguard their interest seldom make serious efforts to rehabilitate the displaced tribals. This creates a good

deal of frustration in the minds of tribals.

From the above brief account of some of the vital issues relating to the tribal life in the sub continent it is clear that studies among tribals are neither complete nor exhaustive. We have to alleviate them from stagnation and the tribalistic state of life. Liddle described the tribals in India as a group of people who after many wanderings, have settled down in tribal haggard. Shri Chatterjee is cited tracking through Bushland, the Puranas considered tribals as *Asura*, *Danava* an abominable group.

Anoka was particularly conscious of the jungle tribes and their distinct customs and manners. The inscription at Dhauli near Bhubaneswar categorically ordered the Governors to treat the jungle folk with compassion. Mughal emperors avoided direct contact with the tribal people. When the Britishers ruled over the country they thought of providing safeguards for the tribes. Enclosed and protected areas were formed to provide a separate form of administration for the tribes. There were also reservations for the legislatures by persons nominated from different walks of life. The social workers of the country were particularly antagonistic to this policy of segregation. The political atmosphere of the country was such that it was considered expedient to the nation, internal and to isolate any particular group of people. However, when we attained independence most of the safeguards were incorporated in the Constitution with greater emphasis than before. We have already

discussed the salient feature of these safeguards earlier. However, here it is to be reiterated that within this century we definitely distinguished a group of people known as Scheduled Tribes (a) who are not at the same level of advancement as the other general population (b) who have distinct customs, manners and social life, (c) who are to be patronised and promoted to reach general level of the country.

In the light of these considerations social anthropologists cannot easily brush aside the backward and primitive tribes, communities from their scope of studies. There fore social anthropology in our country is to still give emphasis on the tribes, their customs and practices etc. Even after all these years of the existence of development programmes some of the backward tribes, particularly in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa continue to remain in a very backward condition. On many of the tribes we do not have full account. Monographs compiled on some of the tribes by the earlier workers covered only some of them. There still remain quite a good number of groups on whom we need authentic and exhaustive monographs.

The U. S. A. and European nations have already reached a certain stage of advancement. Industrial and urban complex have levelled up their social and cultural life. Cultural proliferations have all been brought to fit into a single standard of life. Group variations are insignificant in this process of transformation. The ignored racial groups have changed

to other-directed ones. That is not the case with backward tribes in India. They are still tradition directed. Their level of aspiration and world view are limited. The process of civilisation on many cases reached only the periphery and seldom the hard core of their culture.

Let us consider the case of Lanja Saoras in Ganjam and Kharapat districts of Orissa State. This tribe inhabits high hill ranges and build their settlement on the hill slopes. They have ingenuity for terrace building. Religion is the focal point of their culture. Perhaps they have the largest number of gods, spirits and ancestors to be propitiated than any other group in the world. Saoras are in contact with the outside world for pretty long time. They migrated into the region at the beginning of this century. Development programmes have been introduced since last twenty years. In spite of all these factors, Saoras continue to have a close cultural base. Change agents except conversion to christianity were not successful to change this tribe. Although Lanja Saoras continue to have their customs and practices, a section of this tribe known as 'Sudha' means clean, totally transformed them as a Hindu caste denoting sacred thread.

Kandha the numerically largest tribe of Orissa have widely varying sections. Some of these sections like Keta Dongria and Penga are shifting cultivators and food gatherers. Another section Jatapus have adopted Telugu and are considerably advanced. Similarly

These Kandh-speaking locals are indistinguishable from the general rural population of the area where they live.

Living are similarly divided into three sections. The Jung of Kamthar are shifting cultivators, food gatherers while those just below the hills in Pulkhar are basket makers and bearers of goods. Otherhals are settled agriculturalists distinguishable from the other castes. This clearly shows the change of occupation or even departure from the moorings of products, transmission, etc. However, these are not so wide as those which have affected different populations in the western section. The tribes around the Steel City of Boudkela or Jamshedpur still continue to retain many of their traditional customs and practices. The different sections of Paharias of Santal Paraganas dwell in the same geographical habitat and practice shifting cultivation. Birhors and Konds are nomadic groups. Bhoras live by rope making and Chhonds by collection of honey and other minor forest products. When they are settled in and I take time for them to adapt to the change of area etc.

These instances have been shown to indicate that the tribal formation taking place in the tribal groups are not according to any pattern or hypothesis. The usual methodology to assess these may have to be modified and changed.

Field workers among the tribes have invariably found it extremely difficult to elicit information from them. Participant observation and actual living with the tribes

have been fruitful. But one is apt to contend fallaciously as language stands as a barrier in many cases. At present scholars who are taking a problematic studies with much easier time at their disposal. For those of the earlier days often return with inadequate data. An American scholar of commerce who came to study a specific problem was considered to understand the status, circulation of certain common local words.

Modern Social Anthropology has adopted sharper methods from Psychology, Statistics and other sciences. These are used to interpret social phenomena. Nevertheless there still remains a wide gap between the standardised methods and the actual thinking process of the man. It varies from situation to situation. It also varies according to the particular condition which might have been brought by flood, tiger menace, epidemic or recent persecution for breaking forest or encroaching laws. In such circumstances the research worker may be confronted with situation which he may not have been under ordinary circumstances. The modern methodology therefore all short of apprehending such eventualities. In case of backward areas.

Due to this peculiar situation in our country it is therefore, right to call for the Social Anthropologists to continue to study the tribes in relation to their socio-cultural life by taking stock of the change agents, the process of acculturation and impact of industrialisation. These are to be studied in relation to the particular situation, period, etc. We cannot

also forget about the task imposed on us by the Constitution to improve the condition of 'depressed' during these years the development programme have no made appreciable contribution to this effect. We have therefore a good deal to study now, the failure of a particular programme in relation to a specific tribe, life and culture. That again will require peering into the frontiers of tribal culture. Thus there is necessity and it is imperative on the part of social anthropologists to study the tribes, communities and the standardized of attitudes and techniques borrowed from other disciplines have to be qualified, modified to suit the nature and requirements.

In other scholarly approach in studying human problems is too many. Nevertheless greater emphasis on psychological techniques may very often lead to errors. A book recently published on the Savana children which claims to be good psychological treatment has made certain gross misstatements about the culture and life of the tribe. The techniques devised for specific occasions is bound to produce a different interpretation of the particular situation varies. Hence the assistance to be taken from psychology should be limited to help social anthropology not to over ride its own techniques. Similarly statistical representation of cultural phenomena is an attempt to over simplify the complex formation of groups, analysis of group behaviour and each associated variable may not be so wide in case of tribal communities. There are also slight deviation and departure from a set pattern. Thus

again may only be in the warfs and woods but not in the pattern of culture itself. The basic needs and satisfaction of these groups, derived and integrated needs are to be carefully assessed. Methods of social anthropology provide a greater lever for all those than other disciplines.

At present we are widely talking of national integration. We have not forgotten the divisions and factions which our country had before the Britishers united the country. Now also the separatist tendency is raising its head in many parts. Forces of disintegration gain momentum when we overlook the basic needs of all the sections of our population. As regards the tribes and minorities we have to follow a scientific policy which means progress in advancement of social and economic life of the tribes with a view to their ultimate integration with the rest of the community in a feeling of equality within a reasonable time. The period has necessarily to vary from tribe to tribe. This object could only be achieved if we have authentic studies among the different tribes which interfere with each other. In the past social anthropologists were considered as curiosity hunters who wanted to keep the tribes as museum pieces. In contrast to that it was considered that rapid assimilation of the tribal communities with that of the general population would be essential. The confusion and conflict on these two issues are often over stressed. In following any of these policies we have to mark the trends a way better than what they were before independence. The apathy

against social anthropologists has been mostly due to the fact that their studies and findings were not always palatable to enthusiastic social workers or administrators who considered hopes on the basis of their own projection. Some anthropologists in this country therefore have to remove this misapprehension from the minds of others. That will only be possible by intensive studies among different tribal groups.

Another vital issue which the social anthropologists should give premium to the time factor for completion of a study and the submission of report. It is heard from many quarters that research projects which are entrusted to anthropologists take a considerable time to be completed. This automatically gives an impression that perhaps we have been languishing over the task and debating over the methodology. The burning problem affecting the tribals and rural

population are referred to anthropologists to solved expeditiously. If our studies and findings are not readily available within a particular span of time we may not be able to benefit any body. Hence in our approach and methodology we have to circumvent profusion and pinpoint the issues of course on scientific and authentic lines.

Applied and action anthropology is very much required in India. A feeling has grown during these years that human problems could be solved by social engineering and social medicine. For application of these we are to provide the required orientation to social workers and administrators. This would be possible if we vigorously pursue our object of studying the tribal communities with due discussion and care. Philanthropy may be the other name which however odd it may sound, should be a part of social anthropology.

Bibliography

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| Benedict R. | Patterns of culture—1934 |
| Boser F. | .. General Anthropology (ed) 1938 Race Language and Culture 1940. |
| Elwin—V. | Philosophy for NEFA. |
| Dutt Bala—C. | . The People of Aor 1944 |
| Golden Weiser A. A. | . History Psychology and Culture 1933 |
| Hadden A. C. | . Wanderings of People 1923 |
| Hemkorts M. J. | .. Man and his works 1851 |
| Kroeber A. L. and others | Anthropology To-day |
| Linton—R. | .. The Cultural Background of Personality 1945. |

- Lewis R. H. . Primitive Society 19'0, History of Ethno-
logical Theories 1921.
- Majumdar D. N. Affair of a Tribe, Race and Culture of
India
- Malinowski B. Arguments of Western Pacific 1921. A
scientific Theory of Culture and other
Essays 1944.
- Mukherji N. Standing at the Cross Roads 1964
- Parida—G . Blakulas among Saura Children 1957
- Publications of the State Tribal led Tribes. Renaka Ray Team.
Research Bodies Commissioner. Dihar Commission. Karia Co-
mmittee. etc
- for Scheduled Castes and Schedu

AN ADDRESS IN CENSUS CONFERENCE OF 1969

A speech delivered in the Conference of Tribal Research bodies and anthropological survey of India convened by the Registrar-General of India, New Delhi on 23rd and 24th January 1969 by Assistant Director on behalf of Tribal Research Bureau

Mr Registrar-General, Dr Burman and fellow delegates

A the outset, I must convey my thanks to the Registrar-General for asking me to participate in this Conference of Anthropological Survey of India and Tribal Research bodies in the country. It is for the first time that we are able to meet and discuss our own and regional statistics in a national assembly. The reason we would be here is to review an outlook for the census operation of 1981. Our Registrar-General for the first time has launched a bold venture to set well-defined working methods as a guide to the field staff and personnel and mark for survey the nature of the material survey of data which has emerged as a work handle for the next five years. In this respect only 1931 census would serve as a guide and different from the preceding operations shall be a new way of doing the thing. I thank Dr B. K. Roy Burman, D. S. D. Harn and all participants for the progress of active participation of research bodies in the country in the census operation of 1971. Those of us who work among tribes refer to census data for various purposes. Tribal Research bodies established in 9 States with number tribal and

Scheduled Caste population are being called upon to conduct surveys to assess the living conditions and felt needs of those groups. We are also entrusted with the task of determining the various status of various groups who put forward their claims for inclusion in the scheduled Caste and we are to hold a national conference of tribes and scheduled Caste living in States as headquarters.

During the five plan period there was the first time in the history of India a separate agency for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes and other backward communities was formed. A Tribal Research Bureau was established in 1963 as a semi-official organisation with 2 Research Scholars and one part-time Secretary in 1964 Bihar took a lead to establish a full-fledged Tribal research agency at Ranchi. Madhya Pradesh started in the next year which was followed by West Bengal. Thereafter by and by Assam, Rajasthan, Aizhar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat have now established tribal research and training centres. NFFA had a research organisation earlier under Dr W. H. M. of

These institutions which started during the First Plan period have now become regular part and parcel of the respective States' administration. Central assistance is provided for these bodies for expansion, etc. by the Department of Socia. Welf. As being closely associated with the first move for establishment of these institutes and actually having the privilege to organise one at Ranchi in 1964, it could be said that the basic policy involved in establishing these institutions was to make comprehensive studies of different groups of tribal communities, their customs and manners, social values and cultural dynamics. No doubt civil servants, scholars from different walks of life and professionals had studied the various tribes in different parts of the country and did come up, with well-illustrated publications. However, the prevailing atmosphere at those days thwarted an objective approach. The frame-work of the excluded and partially excluded areas with a separate type of administration different from the general administration of the country was aimed at segregation of the tribes. Naturally those special customs and practices which could highlight inter-tribal differences as well as distinguish the tribes from the general population of the country were documented. The Scheduled Castes who were untouchables, and were actually suffering from violent form of social stigma had a different footing. When the national movement gained momentum our leaders were antagonistic to such studies because it was presumed that these were meant for perpetuating the division of the nation. After inde-

pendence scholars both in the Universities and otherwise studied tribes and castes on scientific lines. Their problems were analysed in relation to the sweeping changes. It was thought that isolation and segregation of a group of people would automatically isolate them from the outside contact and they would not lose their nerves. In reality it was found that changes take place in the community due to various factors. A community is attended by different communities by visits to markets, retail and law courts, etc., migration to tea gardens provided a stimulus for change. Establishment of army camps in remote tribal areas during world wars drastically changed the outlook of the tribes. Thus it had to be admitted that recent studies of the tribes and their problems were to receive serious attention of the administration after independence.

In our country a road was provided by census organisation for the same purpose. In 1881 census scheduled tribes and castes were enumerated. All those who inhabited tribal and forest areas were taken as tribes. Rigny in 1901 actually provided the basic foundation for recording the distinct groups. However in 1931 census under the able guidance of Hutton a full-fledged inquiry was instituted by census organisations. In fact for all our basic data we have mostly to refer to the 1981 census.

After independence and adoption of the Constitution in which we are pledged in the Directive of State Policy to develop the Scheduled

Castes and Scheduled Tribes plan their welfare programme by either important. Most of the States established separate Departments for this purpose. With the launching of Five Year Plans welfare schemes for backward classes with controls have from the Central Government under Article 375 were introduced in the States. The tribal research bodies were established in pursuance of the decision to use and advise planners and governments to formulate and implement these programmes. Through various studies the dimensions of the problems and areas which involve the tribes have to be revealed. When we adopted scientific planning for building our nation, the advancement of tribes could not be left to stereotyped bureaucratic apparatus. In this regard the role of tribal research had to be important.

2. We have various perceptions and pre-conceived notions which preclude our thoughts and action in relation to a tribe, a caste, a community or a social situation. To briefly indicate a few the general idea is that industrialization introduces urban values and rapid changes. In process of that backward tribes shake off their established traditions to adopt new values. A few studies have however shown that the growth of a large industrial complex river valley proper rehabilitation programme generally factors and forces of change but these do not drastically change the entire pattern of life of a tribe or a community. No doubt at the beginning there is an urge for change of occupation but very often the stimulus only

reaches the soft core of culture and seldom establishes itself in the hard core. Mobility is retarded by castes and tribes on the face of changed circumstances. But the occupational traditions do not give any additional advantage to a group which were traditionally practising particular occupation to adopt improved techniques to develop their traditional resources.

Shifting cultivation is an age old practice in the sub-continent. Firstly the backward tribes who live in mountain fastness have very little wet land. Secondly they grow millets, tubers and seeds. These are all clearings which are not possible to grow on wet land. The pressure of population and restrictions of forests seldom provide opportunity for expansion of wet cultivation. It has been found from a study that a backward shifting cultivating group like Kutia Kondhs sometimes went from wet cultivation to shifting cultivation. Sakas who have immense skill in terrace hill cultivation, still practice shifting cultivation. This shows that change does not always mean change from other method of cultivation to wet cultivation.

Herders like Khasis who rear large number of cattle but never milk them do not adopt this practice despite of the demand for milk created due to the extension of Dairies under Project. Thus it is not correct to always presuppose change and concentration sets of socio culture change.

3. Introduction of Panchayat Raj and democratic decentralisation from 1961 was expected to provide

the stimulus in rural and tribal area for adoption of new values. Studies in different parts have shown that the stationary Panchayats seldom caught the imagination of tribes and provided a stable base to introduce changes and mobility.

These references, therefore, further emphasises the basis for study of tribes and castes on scientific lines by competent persons. Studies are being however conducted by individual scholars in the University as well as in research bodies. But these are mostly confined to a limited sphere of in relation to specific groups. It is now time that there should be integrated and broad based studies of these aspects in a systematic manner in the whole of the country. Only with that it will be possible to assess and gauge the pattern of occupational mobility in relation to social and cultural dynamism. From these studies conducted in different parts of the country it would then be possible to ascertain cause and direction of social change. It must be admitted that during the past two decades we have been more charged by the concepts and ideas evolved in the United States of America. No doubt in that country there is immense scope and prospect for studies in social sciences. Our workers and scholars are more often charged with these concepts and theories in the latter manner as we consider it a status symbol of our civil foreign countries.

What is to be emphasised here is that the social set in our country is totally different. The milieu in which our tribes and castes live and develop is divergent from the

one in other advanced countries. Hence, we have to make effective studies of the different groups in relation to our own requirements. Within a tribe there are different sections and divisions which although could be generically stated as one have wide divergent customs and practices. Konds are divided into Bhongra, Kul & Yenga, Jatsap, Kaps who are so widely different from each other in dress, ornaments, customs and manners. That it becomes extremely difficult to take them as a single tribe. Change of occupation in Juangs in Palahatu who became basket makers has changed their customs and practices. Juangs of Dhenkanal plains have many differences with the hill Juangs of Keonjhar who are hunters and shifting cultivators. Bhuiyans as agriculturists and those who live on hills have widely different customs. It is therefore, essential that the tribal research bodies being given the required stimulus from the census organisation should take up these studies in different parts of the country.

There are still quite a large number of tribes in this country about whom there is no authentic account. It would have been the first task after independence to gather monographic account of these groups in almost all parts of the country. In fact in 1949 resolution was approved in the central advisory board of Anthropology now defunct to study all these groups expeditiously and prepare authentic account. It has to be admitted that neither the Anthropological Survey of India nor the

tribes research bodies or universities took steps in this direction. Problem oriented studies with multi disciplinary approach are no doubt useful, but how can we properly analyse the problems when we have no authentic basic data? Are we in a position to refer to the 1951 Census. Thereafter and further for our basic data? On one hand we admit that sweeping changes have taken over the country and both social and societal change have taken place. On the other hand we rely on the old accounts. How can we reckon this? Here the census organisation can give a lead and the Registrar General can give to the nation something which will be followed by the posterity.

Another administrative problem which confronts the States as well as the Central Government is to determine the social status of different tribes and caste groups who claim to be included in the Schedules. The list of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were promulgated in 1956. The concessions and advantages incumbent on inclusion in the Schedules are many. These allow various groups to put forward their claim to be included in the Schedules. On the other hand the resources both at the central and states level being depleted it becomes difficult to continue these concessions to all the members of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. Studies have shown that more advances and social actions from among the tribes and castes have derived the maximum benefits from these concessions. The backward groups like Bondas, Kordhis

Chandras Kaders, Kola, Nankans and Barbars, etc. have continued to live in hills and forests. There are not even first generation. It states among them. To improve the status of a caste that scientific assessment of the living conditions of the tribes and castes need to be made and an objective classification would be useful. It is possible to retain only those groups who are in need of social advantages. Then only their social and economic conditions could be improved within the limited resources available for the purpose. The census organisation and the Registrar General may be able to give a lead in this direction.

Scientific planning for welfare would require data on the formation and continuation of different groups arising out of cultural and economic migration. The sources of change and the adjustment to the change would be unfolding of inherent potentialities. The socio-economic changes and those are actually to be tapped if we want to succeed in social welfare innovations among the backward classes. The census organisation can evolve the standardized system of study to cover the entire country to measure these factors which would be useful both in planning and implementation of programmes. More appraisal of innovations will not provide the required result.

At the end I again want to reiterate my sincere gratitude to the Registrar General who has provided this opportunity for a forum to discuss the various matters which will be tackled by the 1971

Census. The task is enormous. The population of the country has increased considerably and the distribution of such workers has increased several folds. Nevertheless these enumerations may help to provide a base for the first time to add a pragmatic hue to our task. I would therefore suggest that certain follow up measures may be required to achieve the objective. The Registrar-General may consider to set up a standing panel under his chairmanship with a representative from the Anthropological Survey 3 or 4 heads of tribal research bodies and the O. S. D handicrafts. The panel may meet as frequently as possible to aid and advise the Registrar-General on the above issues. It could also devise standardized schedules to conduct different social studies. It could also devise curriculum for training the

enumerators and other census personnel, to carefully collect the required information from the backward communities. The Registrar-General in course of his tour may come across various issues and problems in different states which could be discussed with the standing panel. In my humble opinion this step may be useful.

At last I shall again express my gratitude to you, Sir, for providing this opportunity for mutual understanding between Anthropological Survey of India and tribal research bodies which even the Department of Social Welfare has not done during all these years. I am sure that the Tribal Research Bureau will be glad to fully co-operate with you in your venture and assist you in this uphill task during the next few years.

BRIEF NOTES : SOCIAL STATUS OF KHAJURIA.

A group popularly known as 'Khajurias' inhabiting parts of Angul around Chendipada and Talcher in Bhenkanal district submitted a representation to the Government that, although they are actually 'Siyal' and they have been deprived of the benefits as Scheduled Caste. In the representation, it is contended that Siyal and Khajuria are one and same caste without any distinction and there is no justification to deprive them from the benefits.

The Tribal Research Bureau was called upon to make an enquiry into the status of Khajurias viz., whether they are synonymous to Siyal Item No. 86 of Orissa Scheduled Caste List of 1956. This enquiry was conducted by a group of investigators around Chendipada, Talcher and near Bhenkanal town.

In village Chendipada proper which is an important P.S. of Chendipada village there are 500 families with a population of 1273 who are known as Khajurias. In Chendipada village there are 504 families of different castes with a total population of 3,608. Khajurias are in a totally separate ward of the village. They are treated as

untouchables and higher castes maintain social distance with them. The origin of the word Khajuria is interesting. It is an adoption from the original caste name of 'Chamara' or 'Siyal' who are to be taken as synonymous. Chamara is a piece of leather or 'Chama' around their waist while tapping toddy from palm trees. From the use of Chama they were known as Chamara. The caste has a puranic origin as described in Skandha Purana. It is described that Parvati the consort of Shiva once produced a human from her skin being agrieved from the reprimand she got from Lord Shiva. She retrained this human from to live underneath the Siyal creeper and was asked to collect the juice from the palm trees and live by selling and trading in that. That is how the descendants of this man known as Siyal. Siyal, however, as has been stated earlier are also known as 'Chamar'. Some of this castemen migrated to Sambalpur and other parts. The caste which trade in skin and also oil-bell are known as Chamar in those parts. This naturally created abhorrence in their minds and in order to distinguish their status from those of Chamars in the locality they called themselves Khajuria.

Some of them were identified by the name rather than Siyal or village.

During the survey settlement operations the amins who recognized land rights took them as Khajuria without hothering about their original caste status. This has created confusion in the records-of-right. As a result of which Khajuria are not recognized by the revenue officers as Scheduled Castes.

From this inquiry it is clear that Khajuria is merely an adopted name of the group of people who are actually Siyal and Khajuria are not a distinct a separate caste. There are the following Gotras among the Khajuria as well as Siyals. (1) Salasa, (2) Naga, (3) Kalakota, (4) Mayura, (5) Kachhapa, (6) Varsha, (7) Kumbhira, etc.

Brahmins and barbers do not serve them. Some one from Jansaha caste officiate in their marriage and accept dry food and rice. Higher castes do not take water from them. They are not admitted into temples and other public places as any other untouchable caste.

From this enquiry it is clear the unnecessary confusion has been created and the Khajuria who are actually Siyal are deprived of the benefits. It may be necessary to declare this group as synonymous to Khajuria. In the meantime notification may be issued from the department to explain to all concerned that Khajuria and Siyal are synonymous and Khajuria should get all benefits as Scheduled Castes.

The Statement about ownership and other particulars of newspaper entitled Adibasi as required to be filed under rule 8 of the Registration of Newspaper (Central) Rules, 1956

FORM IV

1. Place of publication .. Tribal Research Bureau, Bhubaneswar-1, Puri. district
2. Periodicity of its publication .. Quarterly
3. Printer's name .. Superintendent, Orissa Government Press, Cuttack.
- Nationality .. Indian
- Address .. Madhupatna, Cuttack-3
4. Publisher's name .. Director of Tribal Research Bureau, Government of Orissa.
- Nationality .. Indian
- Address .. Bhubaneswar-1
5. Editor's name .. (1) R. N. Das, I.A.S., Director of Tribal Research Bureau-cum-Secretary to Government, T. & R. W. Department.
- (2) N. Das, Assistant Director, Tribal Research Bureau
- Nationality .. Indian
- Address .. Bhubaneswar, Orissa (In 'a)

ADIBASI

A quarterly periodical published by the Tribal Research Bureau, Bhubaneswar, Orissa every year in April, July, October and January. It contains papers and findings on social science, emphasizing tribal problems of Orissa.

Adibasi invites contribution from persons interested in Anthropology, Sociology, Ethno-history and tribal problems.

Manuscripts sent for publication must be typewritten in double space on one side of the paper. Each contributor will be given twenty-five copies of off-prints and Rs. 25.00 for each standard article.

New contributors are required to send manuscripts along with their antecedent.

All correspondence should be addressed to the Editors, Adibasi, Tribal Research Bureau, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.

Annual subscription of the Journal:

Rs. 16.00	Inland
Rs. 20.00	Foreign

(This is subject to revision)

Back issues are also available for sale

Adibasi is also supplied on exchange basis

—O—